

THE
Nonconformist.

"THE DISSIDENCE OF DISSENT AND THE PROTESTANTISM OF THE PROTESTANT RELIGION."

VOL. XI.—NEW SERIES, No. 275.]

LONDON: WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 19, 1851.

PRICE 6d.

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CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH MEETING AT BLA-GROVE'S ROOMS,
71, Mortimer-street, Cavendish-square.

A SERMON will be PREACHED next SUNDAY EVENING, February 23rd, occasioned by the recent Death of the Rev. Dr. J. PYE SMITH, by THOS. T. LYNCH, Minister of the Church.

Service commences at Half-past Six.

TO BAPTIST CHURCHES.

A MINISTER, of some years' experience, wishes to be directed to a sphere of pastoral usefulness, whose support may be aided by a LADIES' SCHOOL, to be conducted by his Wife or Daughter.

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LONDON CONGREGATIONAL CHAPEL BUILDING SOCIETY.

AT A SPECIAL CONFERENCE of the PASTORS and DEACONS of the LONDON CONGREGATIONAL CHURCHES, and others, held at the CONGREGATIONAL LIBRARY, Bonhill-street, Finsbury, on WEDNESDAY EVENING, February 12, EUSEBIUS SMITH, Esq., Treasurer, in the Chair, the following resolutions were unanimously carried:—

Moved by the Rev. JOHN STOUTON; seconded by EDWARD SWAIN, Esq.:—

"1. While this meeting cordially hails every consistent effort at chapel extension in this Metropolis and elsewhere, and would specially recognise in this good work, the undertakings of private individuals, local committees, separate Churches, and district associations, it, at the same time, fully approves of a distinct and general organization for this purpose, and deems such a movement desirable for the following reasons:—

"A central society can accumulate, for the purpose of general diffusion, much practical information on the subject of chapel building; it can secure sites, many of which others can occupy; it can continue to keep up attention to this important work; it can stimulate others to build; it can gather together much of the scattered and otherwise unemployed resources of the Independent churches; it can act as a practical and efficient bond of union of pastors and Churches; it can present a safe and suitable object of attention to individuals desirous of bequeathing their property to religious purposes; and it can continue to build, and aid others in building, out of the resources which, through various channels, are entrusted to its management."

Moved by SAMUEL MORLEY, Esq.; seconded by Dr. LANKESTER:—

"2. This meeting, having given its cordial sanction to the principle of organization, in conducting this important work of chapel extension, feels no less pleasure in expressing its full approval of the constitution, the spirit, the executive, the aims, and the operations, of the London Congregational Chapel Building Society, and confidently recommends it to the increasingly vigorous and generous support of the pastors, deacons, and members of the Congregational Churches generally; and of all others who feel, especially in these times, intensely interested in the diffusion of the principles of enlightened and Evangelical Protestantism."

Moved by the Rev. CHARLES GILBERT; seconded by the Rev. JOHN KENNEDY, A.M.:—

"3. This meeting, having expressed its general approval of the constitution and operations of the London Congregational Chapel Building Society, would respectfully urge upon the executive the employment of increasingly vigorous means to make its claims more generally known, to bring them more strenuously to bear on the Christian community with which the Society is identified, and to accomplish the noble object it has proposed, viz., the erection of fifty additional chapels in the metropolis. Aware, however, that all the efforts of the Committee will be unavailing, unless sustained by the deep sympathy and cordial co-operation of the pastors and churches of London, this meeting would respectfully appeal to such honoured brethren, and would earnestly solicit, in aid of this important movement, an interest in their prayers, the advocacy of the claims of the Society in their pulpits, public collections, the formation of Congregational auxiliaries, individual contributions, and all other modes of assistance by which, if possible, the income of the Society may reach, as this meeting thinks it should, £10,000 a-year."

NO. 8, FINSBURY PAVEMENT.

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A List of the Society's Publications may be had on application to the Secretary.

WILLIAM VIDLER, Secretary.

23, Shepperton Cottages, New North-road.

SPECIAL NOTICE.

TO SECURE THE ADVANTAGES OF THE YEAR'S ENTRY, PROPOSALS MUST BE LODGED AT THE LONDON OFFICE, 61A, MOORGATE-STREET, OR AT ANY OF THE SOCIETY'S AGENCIES, ON OR BEFORE 1st MARCH.

POLICIES EFFECTED ON OR BEFORE 1st MARCH, 1851, WILL RECEIVE SIX YEARS' ADDITIONS AT THE ALLOCATION AT 1st MARCH, 1856.

SCOTTISH EQUITABLE LIFE ASSURANCE SOCIETY.

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Established 1831.

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3	1834	1,000	381 11 6	1,409 4 1	
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9	1840	1,000	229 12 0	1,254 3 10	
12	1843	1,000	160 0 0	1,163 4 0	
15	1846	1,000	..	1,120 0 0	

MEDICAL REFEREES PAID by the SOCIETY.

The Nineteenth Annual Report, Forms of Proposal, and all other information may be had (free) on application at the Society's Office, 61A, Moorgate-street, City.

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Watches of the Horizontal make, jewelled in four holes, main-taining power, 1st size	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Doitto, 2nd size	5 10 0	2 18 0
Doitto, 3rd size	7 10 0	3 3 0
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ASTHMA, CONSUMPTION, COUGHS, COLDS, AND
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8, High-street, Belfast, Sept. 21st, 1847.

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This is the finest Black Tea imported.	

Also a choice assortment of Green Teas, and various other descriptions, too numerous to mention.

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THE Nonconformist.

"THE DISSIDENCE OF DISSENT AND THE PROTESTANTISM OF THE PROTESTANT RELIGION."

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CONTENTS.

ECCLIASTICAL AFFAIRS:—	Eccliaetical Titles Assumption Bill.....	141
The Ecclesiastical Titles Bill	Court, Official, & Personal News.....	144
The Anti-state-church Movement	Law, Police, and Assize Intelligence.....	145
Conference of Scottish Dissenters	Postscript	145
Scottish Anti-state-church Association	POLITICAL:—	
Religious Intelligence	Summary	146
Correspondence	The Budget.....	146
The Late Dr. Pys Smith..	Supercilious Littleness..	147
The Elections.....	A Check for Austria....	147
Ireland	Mirror of Parliament	148
Unconditional Repeal of the Window-duty.....	Births, Marriages, Deaths	156
Foreign and Colonial News	Money Market and Commercial Intelligence....	156
Parliamentary Divisions ..	The Gazette	156
	Markets	156

ECCLIASTICAL AFFAIRS.

THE ECCLESIASTICAL TITLES BILL.

THE Ministerial measure, prohibiting "the assumption of certain ecclesiastical titles in respect of certain places in the United Kingdom," has been printed. It has certainly one merit—it is brief. It extends only to four clauses. By the first, the fine of £100 for taking or using "the name, style, or title of archbishop of any province, bishop of any bishopric, or dean of any deanery, in England or Ireland," imposed by the Roman Catholic Relief Act, is brought to bear against the "assumption or use of the name, style, or title of archbishop, bishop, or dean, of any city, town, or place, or of any territory or district (under any designation or description whatsoever) in the United Kingdom." The second clause enacts that any deed or writing made, signed, or executed, by persons assuming such forbidden titles, and in virtue of the authority which such titles imply, shall be void. The third, that endowments of pretended sees, or gifts to persons designated by them, shall lapse to her Majesty—and trust powers vested in persons so designated shall be exercised as the Queen may direct. The last clause enacts, that every person liable to be sued for any penalties under the act shall, in any suit in Equity, be compellable to answer by oath in relation to his trust, notwithstanding his liability to penalty—but that in an action for the recovery of the penalty no answer thus obtained shall be admissible as evidence against him.

Such, in brief, is the Bill. Its simple object is to prevent the use of certain ecclesiastical titles, similar to those used by the dignitaries of the United Church of England and Ireland. Its few provisions aim directly and exclusively at that object. When passed into a law, and carried into effect, the end gained by it will be the stripping of all Roman Catholic archbishops, bishops, and deans, in the United Kingdom—and, so far as we can make out, all Scottish Protestant dignitaries of the same rank—of their territorial names, styles, and titles. This done, all is done which the bill intends. The prerogative of the Sovereign to give such titles—namely, archbishop, bishop, or dean, in respect of any place in the United Kingdom—will have been vindicated. The Anglican hierarchy will be safe from titular competition. A magnificent result of a three months' national convulsion.

Whether the Pope drew up his "brief" as a studied "insult" to Her Majesty, may be doubted. Rational motive was wanting. So far, however, as it was interpreted as such, the bill, doubtless, remedies the evil—but not with equal dignity as would have been shown, in simply "proclaiming" the brief, at the request of Parliament, "null and void." The hierarchy of the Established Church, rather than the Sovereign, gain redress by this bill. That they were ignored constituted the venomous sting of the Papal measure. They may now again breathe freely. Their rivals are to be shorn of their honours. The Church is avenged. Protestantism is entrenched behind fresh bulwarks. The people may dismiss their alarm. Truth is once again secure.

To zealous members of the Established Church, we can very well understand how this measure should prove satisfactory. To Protestant Nonconformists, we should think, the satisfaction imparted by it must be somewhat alloyed. Territorial ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and titles denoting it, they do not recognise as amongst the things which a Sovereign may rightfully confer, nor a subject properly receive at any hands. The legal protection of existing assumptions from a competition which would to some extent diminish their value, whilst it may gratify their loyalty, or their nationality, must grate rather harshly on their principles. Churchmen of every shade, from Sir Robert Inglis to Lord Ashley, praise them for the sacrifice they have made—and not without reason. It is clear that the truths they had in special trust have gained nothing out of the universal turmoil and pothor. No principle in their keeping has received illustration from the wide-spread flame of religious excitement. The beginning, the middle, and the end of their co-operation with Churchmen have been, to vindicate a supremacy which themselves repudiate, and to exalt above rivalry a hierarchy in which they do not believe. Whether, on the whole, this be a service which will redound to the honour of Christianity, it is for them to settle to their conviction who took part in the mighty uproar. For our part, had we been of the number, we should feel ourselves sadly puzzled just now how most truthfully to describe the beneficial results of our previous self-denial. We should have felt very much like the honest sailor who had caught a Tartar.

Supposing the bill to give substantial satisfaction to those who have invoked legislative action, and to allay whatever yet remains of the fever of alarm, the next question which occurs is, what will be its probable working. It is an *ex post facto* law, and on this ground alone is objectionable. But this is not all. It denounces as a crime what our Government, for many years past, has encouraged and recognised—breaks to shivers what "the powers that be" stood by and smiled upon in the course of erection—punishes acts which were done (in Ireland at least) under the sanction of both Parliament and Cabinet. Such a course as this tends to foster in the Irish people, already sufficiently indisposed to respect law and do homage to its majesty, the belief that English domination in Ireland is but a capricious tyranny, and that acts which it may applaud to-day, it may chastise to-morrow. How can a people thus governed be otherwise than radically lawless?

But there would seem to be on the part of many shrewd judges, a strong opinion that the act will be found unworkable; or that if put in force, the disorganization it will produce will be a hundred-fold more difficult to deal with than the evil it is intended to remedy. In this opinion, we also share. Whatever may be the case in England, it is to be feared that in Ireland, if the statute is to become more than a dead-letter, its effect will be to disturb the legal tenure of innumerable bequests, and to throw a large number of Roman Catholic trusts into a state of hopeless confusion. The value of every modern instrument for conveying property to the Roman Church in Ireland will be greatly depreciated, if not destroyed. Such a measure following at short distance the Charitable Trusts and Bequests Act, which was intended to give a stable basis to Roman Catholic ecclesiastical property, will prove doubly galling. Ireland will once more be stimulated into dangerous discontent by priestly outcries against English injustice, and the returning prosperity of that miserable isle be retarded indefinitely by fierce polemical warfare.

We do not believe, however, that the statute can be put in force. Its object is so ludicrously little, and its machinery so disproportionately harassing and even cruel, that it will be difficult, we think, to find a responsible executive to undertake the ungrateful task. For a long period back, the Roman Catholic hierarchy in Ireland have assumed and used territorial titles, and are, doubtless, customarily so named in the legal documents by which bequests and trust property have been subjected to their official regulation and control.

To strip them of their names, styles, and titles now, must necessarily introduce an element of uncertainty and confusion, just where it will tell most offensively. Even supposing the law to be instantly and universally obeyed, there will still, as it strikes us, be harshness in its indirect operation, such as every other religious denomination would denounce as tyrannical if directed against themselves. We cannot help thinking, therefore, that the act, when passed, will be allowed to sleep—but dormant or not, it will occasion bitter feelings.

But of this we feel tolerably certain. The measure will hasten the doom of the Irish Church establishment. The revival of theological animosities cannot strengthen the position of the Church of a small minority. The impolicy will most likely return to the door of those who sent it out—the Anglican hierarchy. The drama has only reached as yet its third act. The fourth and the fifth may, perhaps, startlingly modify our present anticipations of the plot and moral. We have already detected the first symptoms of what, if fully developed, will make our State-churchmen open both eyes with astonishment and alarm. What if the tide of Roman Catholic feeling and effort in this country and Ireland should set in against all connexion between Church and State? We do not say that it will be so—or that it would be natural that it should be so—but we do say that we ourselves have seen floating chips which mark, at least, a temporary alteration of the current. This bill, we apprehend, will be likely enough to make what is now but temporary and superficial, strong, deep, and permanent. After all, we have no doubt that by the agency of this Anti-Papal excitement, Divine Providence will fulfil his designs in regard to both the rival hierarchies and Churches.

THE ANTISTATE-CHURCH MOVEMENT.

BOSTON.

The first Midland tour commenced on Monday week, at Boston—the deputation, Mr. Miall and the Rev. G. W. Conder, of Leeds. The Guildhall (says the *Stamford Mercury*) was crowded with a respectable and attentive audience. Alderman Noble presided. The first resolution was moved by the Rev. T. W. Mathews, and seconded by Mr. Conder. The next resolution having been moved by the Rev. Mr. Potter, the Chairman introduced Mr. Miall, who was received with a round of applause.

After some remarks on the advantages of agitation, Mr. Miall explained the great object of the Association, which he said was, that every person in this kingdom should become convinced of the utter absurdity of attempting to promote the gospel of love by physical force. The great element of State-churchism was the endeavour to force on the world, which was naturally alien from God, the mission of Jesus—not by persuasion, not by argument, not by exemplification of the beauty of the Christian principle, but by policemen's truncheons, soldiers' bayonets, and gunpowder, and bullets, and blood. The Anti-state-church party desired that truth should stand on its own merits; and that truth should combat error without being encumbered with the assistance of the State. He then introduced a story of one Dan Tucker, who had a baby born to him, the bringing up of which was claimed by a parish clerk as a matter of custom, and disputed by a lawyer's clerk, on the ground that the parish clerk always spoiled the children he reared. Dan Tucker interfered, and insisted upon the bringing up of his own baby. So it was with the Pope and the Prelates of the Church of England: they quarrelled as to which should take care of our religion, each party claiming a divine commission to do so. He who sat on the throne in Rome, and wore a tiara, or triple crown, fancied he had a commission from God to look after the religion of all the people on the face of the globe. Our own bishops considered that they had had made over to them, by the grace of God, the responsibility of looking after all the souls within their respective dioceses. The Nonconformists contended, that God, who had called us to sustain relationship towards him, had placed in us the power and the means of profitably performing that relationship. All history showed that a State-church was the worst representation of Christianity; and the present times evidenced as correct an idea of the fact as could be furnished. Touching upon the institution of the Catholic hierarchy, Mr. Miall contended that it was all sham, and that the Pope knew it; for to suppose that sending hither a cardinal and eight or ten bishops would give him tem-

peral power or command over the taxation of England, was ridiculous; yet the sham had been just enough to make people blind to the reality. There were some cunning people who knew that the Dissenters were looking at the holes in their coats; and as soon as they saw another person going by with a hole in his coat, they directed general attention to that one, in order that their own holes might not be seen [laughter]. They had been resisting a cardinal, but they had better have resisted bishops home-made. A cardinal had not the power to do harm; he could neither take their goods nor their money; he could not take tithes or church-rates, nor sit in the House of Lords and stop the progress of a Reform Bill. Lord John Russell had said he did not view the Papal aggression with so much alarm as indignation—that he believed the Protestantism of the people was sufficient to save them from the machinations of Rome. No doubt of it; but why then keep up the sham? The Church was called the bulwark of Protestantism; and five or six millions a year were paid to keep out Popery; yet, instead of keeping it out, it was like a wall of sponge, it rather took in from both sides [laughter and applause]. Mr. Miall went on to explain that the Queen's supremacy meant the supremacy of the Ministers, who appointed the bishops; and that the bishops were the only parties who had gained by the outcry against Papal aggression; they had been released from a competition which they felt somewhat disadvantageous, and had now got a monopoly of names as well as of other things. They had also shifted off an awkward piece of contention. The bishops of the English Church held up their heads, as if they had not received true apostolic succession—not being ordained by themselves—they were not true ministers of Christ; but then stepped in the Church of Rome, and said, "You, too, are only a sham: you have got very little apostolic succession in you: you ignore the Dissenters, and we ignore you: we are older established than you." The Church of England was rather taken aback by this: the bishops became frightened, and they endeavoured to frighten everybody else—with how much success, the country had within the last few months witnessed. What, then, was the upshot? Not that the Romanist bishops had been put down, that the Bible was more free, that Protestantism was saved, or that any inquiry would be made into the abuses of the universities: the only thing that came out of it was a piece of vanity and ambition on the part of the bishops; namely, that nobody could take titles like theirs. And that was all that would come of it. Was it not time that an end was put to such a state of things, carried on in the name of religion? He (Mr. Miall) believed the system of State-churchism was doing more to impede the spread of Christianity, to misrepresent the gospel of Christ, to alienate the hearts of the people and dry up their religious sensibilities, and to make a mockery and snare of all religion, than anything else existing in this world. He believed that, unless the English people resisted this callousness, and threw off this burden, God would throw them off—that if they allowed the spirit of this thing to enter into their souls, it would destroy them. They could not be a holy people whilst a priest-ridden people. If they had not the courage to stand up for themselves, and think for themselves, and speak for themselves, they were not worth the liberty they enjoyed; and some one—not the Pope, poor old man! he had to be protected now by foreign bayonets—some power would arise to take hold of England, and shake it to its very centre. There was only one way of escape from this condition, and that was by diffusing as wide as possible the principles of truth. The ultimate resting-place of the idea of an Establishment, was the employment of physical force for the sustentation of the Church. If they asked what should be done, he would say, destroy every Act of Parliament that inflicts anything like persecution on another on account of what he religiously believes. He would take away all the pay that was now given by the country to those who taught religious faith—that was, all the pay which properly belonged to the country [cheers]. Many persons would call that sacrilege, and say that the pay belonged to the Church. But what was the Church? The Church was the State, or the whole body of the people. There was no distinction when calls were made for church-rates: they did not know Dissenters when they laid on ecclesiastical taxes. Every one could, in the eye of the law, claim the rights of a Churchman in the parish in which he resided; he could claim of the alderman all the offices of the Church of England, unless the clergyman could prove in the Ecclesiastical Court that the applicant was a heretic, or in the civil courts that he was immoral. They were, then, all Churchmen. The Church was a national church, and consisted of the people. If the Church was not a national church, the property did not belong to it; and if it was a national church, then it belonged to the people, and the people, if so disposed, could deal with the property after their own fashion [applause]. After enlarging upon this point, and urging support to the Anti-state-church Association, Mr. Miall concluded by seconding the resolution, which was put and carried.

Resolutions in favour of the Anti-state-church Association; thanks to the Mayor for the use of the hall, to the deputation, and to Alderman Noble for presiding; were unanimously voted.

LINCOLN.—A meeting of the Anti-state-church Association took place at the Corn Exchange on the evening of yesterday week. The Rev. G. W. Conder, of Leeds, and Edward Miall, Esq., attended as deputation from the Anti-state-church Association. The Rev. J. Craps, the Rev. S. Wright, and the Rev. R. S. Short, Mr. Gresham, and Mr. Ward, were also on the platform. Resolutions in support of the principles of the Association were unanimously carried. The principal speakers were Mr. Conder and Mr. Miall.

NOTTINGHAM.—GREAT ANTI-STATE-CHURCH MEETING.—A public meeting was called in the Exchange-rooms, on Wednesday, to protest against the unholy and unscriptural alliance of the Church with the State. Edward Miall, Esq., and the Rev. G. W. Conder, of Leeds, attended as a deputation from the Anti-state-church Association. Mr. Alderman Knight in the chair. The large hall and adjoining room—thrown into communication by the opening of the folding-doors—were densely packed in every

part. The Church party mustered in unusual strength. The Chairman having expressed his determination to obtain a fair field for every speaker, and to decide with strict impartiality, the Rev. G. A. Syme, B.A., moved—"That all State-establishments of religion are wrong in practice, a violation of the rights of conscience, and a degradation of spiritual truth; that we therefore resolve to seek, by all constitutional means, the independence of Christianity from State-support, and its freedom from State-control." Mr. E. Miall seconded the resolution, in a long and able argumentative speech, and was cheered for several minutes when he took his seat. He was followed by the Rev. W. Clementson, incumbent of Kimberley, who, on ascending the platform, was greeted with several rounds of hearty cheers. Amidst innumerable interruptions, owing to the discursive nature of his remarks, he took up and combated the principal arguments and statements set forth by the preceding speakers, and concluded by moving the following amendment:—"That this meeting regards the principles of the Anti-state-church Association as opposed to the Word of God, as violating the rights of property; and would especially protest against its proceedings at the present time, as having a tendency to strengthen the hands of the agents of the Church of Rome, by diverting the minds of the people from the important subject of the Papal aggression." This amendment was seconded by Mr. Lee, of Snenton, and negatived by a large majority. The Rev. G. W. Conder briefly, but satisfactorily, replied to Mr. Clementson, and moved a resolution, setting forth that it would much strengthen the foundation of our common freedom to remove the civil sword from the reach of all ecclesiastical power; and therefore calling for an entire separation of the Church from the State. This was seconded by the Rev. J. A. Baines, and carried. Mr. Miall moved, and the Rev. W. Clementson seconded, a vote of thanks to the Chairman, and the meeting broke up at a quarter past eleven o'clock.—*Abridged from the Nottingham Review.*

MANCHESTER.—A deputation from the Anti-state-church Association has, during the last week, been attending public meetings in and near this town, preparatory to an aggregate meeting at the end of the month. The first was held in the Temperance-hall, Chorlton-upon-Medlock, on Wednesday last, when Robert Longdon, Esq., a member of the Society of Friends, presided, and, beside the deputation (Messrs. Kingsley and Williams), whose addresses were heard with the most marked attention, the Rev. Messrs. Peters and Atkinson, and Messrs. Nelson and Swan, took part in the proceedings which were very animated. On Friday, a meeting was held in the Independent Chapel, at Rusholme, a suburb of Manchester, when Mr. Kingsley attended, and delivered an effective address. Messrs. Miall, Conder, and Vincent, are announced to attend the meeting at the Free-trade Hall on the 28th inst.

STALYBRIDGE.—Mr. Kingsley, of the Anti-state-church Association, visited this place on Thursday last, and delivered a lecture in the Town Hall, on the separation of Church and State. There was a large audience, a considerable number of whom were working men.

CONFERENCE OF SCOTTISH DISSENTERS.

A conference of Dissenters, called by William Duncan, Esq., agreeably to a requisition signed by several hundred Dissenting clergymen and laymen, was held on Wednesday at twelve o'clock, in Rose-street Church, Edinburgh.

Among those present were the Rev. Drs. Wardlaw; John Brown, Peddie; Young, Perth; Symington, Hamilton; Mackelvie, Balgownie; M'Kerrow, Liverpool; Joseph Brown, Dalkeith; M'Michael, Dunfermline; Rev. Messrs. Kirkwood, G. Johnstone, Bruce, J. Robertson, Ballantine; Smith, Biggar; Symington, Kilmarnock; Meikle, Reith; A. Robertson, Stowe; Muir, Leith; Cairns, Cupar; Rankine, Cupar; Jarvis, Kelso; Johnstone, Leslie; Macdowall, Alloa; Mr. William Duncan, Bailie Fyfe, Mr. James Peddie, Mr. J. H. Stott, Mr. James Gray, &c., &c.

We find the proceedings of the Conference reported both in the *Scottish Press* and *Edinburgh News*, and for the most part follow the report of the latter as more suited to our space.

Mr. Duncan was called to the chair, and Dr. John Brown opened the meeting with prayer.

The CHAIRMAN, in introducing the object for which the meeting had been assembled, said that, although the Dissenters in Scotland were a most numerous body, and had a great interest in the prosperity of the country—in its manufactures, its commerce, and its agriculture—still they had long been treated by those in authority with neglect, and, indeed, had been practically ignored in the discussion and determination of great public questions, and in the settlement of national affairs. Other parties, not more entitled than Dissenters to have weight with the Government and Legislature, had made their voice heard in Parliament, had stated their views, and asserted their rights, had had concessions made to them, and had compelled men in power to take into consideration, when introducing public measures, whether or not they would receive support from these parties. Now, the Dissenters might have asserted for themselves an equally favourable position; and why had they not done so? The Dissenters of Scotland were not in a state of efficient organisation, and, consequently, there was a want of systematic, united, well-directed, and

vigorously sustained effort on their part. This meeting had been called for the purpose of considering what sort of organization should be devised and carried into effect. He was glad to see so many gentlemen present from distant parts, and he doubted not they would proceed to the consideration of the subject on which they were met, as honest, earnest men, with all the intelligence, experience, and wisdom they possessed—having in view the ultimate glorious results of the promotion of the Redeemer's cause, and the advancement of the highest and dearest interests of their beloved land [applause].

Dr. WARDLAW then read a paper "On the present position of Dissent." Want of space prevents us from giving the Doctor's arguments and remarks on the abstract question. We therefore content ourselves with giving an outline of the more novel features of his paper:—

The Church and State alliance within themselves, in the Protestant establishment, was an evil, anti-scriptural in its basis, pernicious in its operation, secularizing the Church, and mixing it up with the world, instead of separating it from it—destroying its independence, exacting unrighteous support, crippling the principles of liberty, crushing those of justice, and propagating discontent. But no one who looked at Popery, either in an ecclesiastical or political aspect—to its spiritual and secular despotism—to emasculated minds, vitiated hearts, and enslaved consciences—to slaughtered bodies and ruined souls—would deny that a greater evil threatened. They were Dissenters and Protestants. As Dissenters they had to resist the lesser of those evils, as Protestants the greater. Now the greater the evil, the greater ought to be the determined united energy with which it was to be withstood. At the same time their principles as Dissenters must on no account be compromised, or even put into abeyance; and the danger lay in giving their dissenting principles such a degree of prominence in the particular agitation that had been the means of bringing them together, as to lay themselves open to the reproach of being more active as Dissenters than they were zealous as Protestants. He would certainly deprecate the appearance of their doing the Anti-state-church work, and leaving to others to do the anti-Popery work. He was for doing both [hear, hear]—and that, while acting as Dissenters, they should not seem cold and heartless, and shy to union, in a time of Papal encroachment. Let them act as Dissenters without compromising their Protestantism—and as Protestants, without compromising their principles of dissent [applause]. The second point of relation referred to persons. They had in the Established Churches men as hostile, and as sound in the grounds of their hostility, to Popery, as themselves. There were certainly many of the clergy, and laity with whom the hostility was little better than ecclesiastical rivalry, but there were also many good men who hated Popery for its anti-Christian, God-dishonouring, and soul-destroying errors. Now he had pleasure in acting with such men when he could do so without compromise of principle. But the moment the principle of a State-church was advanced, in which, if they went a step further, they might seem to acquiesce, that step must not be taken [applause]. The rev. Doctor then went on to show that the prospects of dissent were encouraging. It was no small matter, he said, to have the public mind aroused on such a question, for listlessness and an indolence to be troubled was far more hopeless than even the fiercest storm of opposition. Where there was opposition there was thought, and where there was thought there was hope for truth. From the Land's-End to John o'Groat's there had been more stirring on the principles of Dissent for some years back than on any other subject. There had recently been a series of events, all bearing in the direction they deemed the right one, and all tending to induce an impression on really serious and godly minds, not only of the unscriptural character, but of the incongruity and irreconcilable contradictoriness, the unmanageableness, and the mischievousness, and at times of the absolute ludicrousness, of the Church and State connexion.

After referring to the recent events within the Church as favourable to their cause, he concluded by pointing out, from indications given in scripture, that their triumph was sure.

Dr. Young read a paper "On the want of Organization amongst Dissenters."

He set out by expressing regret at the present inefficient organization among those holding Anti-state-church principles, that their local associations were so few, and that their powers of disseminating their principles, and telling on the public mind, were all but nullified by their want of co-operation. Late events had put them on a vantage ground, and the principles for which they contended were neither matters of sectarianism nor party rivalry, but were inseparably connected with the efficiency and extension of the Church of Christ. But they needed organization in order to keep the question in its due proportions before the minds of themselves and others. The State-churches might be subverted by a sudden convulsion, but that was neither likely nor desirable. It would be far better that their subversion should come as the result of mature conviction, and therefore it was necessary to diffuse their principles, to accomplish which they needed organization. In order to give effect to their organization, some practical measures must be resorted to that should make manifest the extent to which their principles were held. Men of mark were beginning to look favourably on their cause, on seeing that the Church of Scotland was openly repudiated by a large majority of the church-going population, and that the churches of evangelical Dissenters alone were free from Popery. Men who were no Dissenters were looking at these things and pondering them, and drawing inferences from them, and if they gave to these men a full, free, and well-digested exhibition of the Voluntary principle, as it bore on the events of the time, they were sure to receive from them a candid consideration [applause].

Mr. ROBERTSON, of Stow, read a paper "On the kind of organization the Dissenters of Scotland should adopt."

At this moment, he premised, Scottish Dissenters might be said to be without organization, with the single exception of the Scottish Anti-state-church Association; and what was required was, that this organization should be universal, not partial—that Dissenters in all large

towns should be in a condition to vindicate and defend their principles—that a healthful intercourse should be maintained among them throughout the length and breadth of the land, and that they should have it in their power to act promptly, unitedly, and energetically, when occasion demanded.

After setting forth his views as to the best mode of effecting an organization, the rev. gentleman proposed, for the consideration of the meeting, a series of resolutions, in which these views were embodied, and which were to the following effect:—

1. That this conference agree to form itself into an association, to be called "the Scottish Anti-state-church Association."

2. That it be based on the principles of the British Anti-state-church Association, namely, that all legislation by secular governments in the affairs of religion is an encroachment on the rights of conscience, and a usurpation of Divine authority; and that the application of the State's resources for the maintenance of any form of religious worship is unsound in principle, hostile to liberty, and opposed to the Word of God.

3. That its object be to endeavour, by all constitutional means, to lead the country to entertain, and the Government to act on, these principles.

4. That every person concurring in these fundamental principles, and subscribing 2s. 6d. yearly, be a member.

5. That a committee of directors be appointed, residing in or near the metropolis, to take the general superintendence of the business of the association.

Four additional resolutions related to the appointment of provincial committees, sub-committees, annual meetings, &c.

The CHAIRMAN then read a paper on the question,—"What are the particular measures Dissenters should adopt?"

One great difficulty, he remarked, in raising Dissenters from their lethargy was, their inability to point out the precise object which they should aim at. He would refer to the late discussion in the Presbytery of Edinburgh regarding Trinity College Church. Many sensible men had thought that as the churches of the Establishment were not well filled, the money received from the railway company should not be expended in rebuilding the church, but otherwise applied for the benefit of the citizens. What stood in the way of this was an alleged agreement, and the law requiring the corporation to provide the Established clergy with churches. Take the other matter referred to on that occasion, what was the answer to all their complaints as to the annuity-tax? They were at once told that it was imposed and levied by law. Take the case of parish ministers with small stipends, to whom an annual grant of £10,000 was made from the Exchequer; or take any other case relating to the rebuilding and repair of parish churches, or the endowment of other institutions in connexion with the Established Church, and, in every case, they were referred to laws enacted by Parliament, and to be found in the statute-book. Their particular object should therefore be to obtain the repeal of these laws [applause]. The adherents of the Establishment might consider silence the more prudent course, as long as Dissenters confined themselves to asserting principles, but let them attack the laws on which they based their claims, and they would soon find every Presbytery in Scotland become as pugnacious as the metropolitan Presbytery had lately shown themselves. Mr. Duncan then proceeded to say that in many of their movements they were likely to have the hearty co-operation of a great body of the laity of the Free Church. He adverted to the necessity of raising a considerable fund for the purposes of the association, without which their operations would only be characterised by feebleness and inefficiency. He suggested that the association should be aggressive, and should never cease working until success crowned its efforts. Let it be seen that they had the power to control some of the elections, and both Government and Parliament would show deference to their representations. He also suggested the appointment of a committee, resident in London, to watch Parliamentary proceedings, to give information and advice, and give effect to their instructions on matters requiring to be attended to. He concluded by expressing a strong and sincere hope that the proceedings of this day would result in the adoption of such measures as should approve themselves to the intelligence of the country, and as should prove effectual in setting Christianity free from the thralldom and degradation of a State alliance.

A lengthened discussion then took place as to the designation of the proposed association, in which Dr. Young, Mr. Meikle, Dr. McKerron, Professor McMichael, Mr. Jarvie, and others, took part. Besides the title suggested by Mr. Robertson, the Chairman proposed, "The Scottish Anti-church-law Association," and Dr. Joseph Brown recommended that it should simply be, "The Scottish Anti-state-church Association." The latter title was also objected to, as having been adopted by an association already in existence; but Mr. Robertson intimated, that he believed the directors of the body referred to had not only no objection to, but would rejoice in, its title being adopted by a society having the same object in view, but on a more extensive basis, and aiming at a wider range of operation. It was, therefore, agreed to adopt the designation, "Scottish Anti-state-church Association;" and the fundamental principles as laid down in Mr. Robertson's resolutions were agreed to.

Dr. Young closed the meeting with prayer.

The Conference met the next morning in Queen-street Hall, and proceeded to determine on the details of the proposed organization. Mr. Duncan, S.S.C., again occupied the chair. It was agreed that the affairs of the association should be conducted by a general council of 300, and an executive committee of thirty. Mr. William Duncan, S.S.C., was chosen president; Mr. James McLaren, of Edinburgh, and Mr. David Anderson, of Glasgow, vice-presidents; the Rev. Mr. Robertson, of Stow, and the Rev. Mr. Jeffrey, of Glasgow, honorary secretaries; Mr. James Gray, treasurer; and Mr. Robert Millan, clothier, interim paid secretary.

The Rev. Mr. BAUCH observed, that before an appeal was made to the public in behalf of the

funds of the Association, they should be furnished with a statement of what the Association contemplated to do—what were its objects. Unless this was done, he despaired of a proper response being given to the appeal.

Dr. SMITH, of Biggar, was in favour of the publication of a small pamphlet at a cheap price, embodying the principles, objects, intentions, and purposes, of the Association.

Mr. D. MORTON, of Perth, intimated that the members of the Association in that city ardently desired that the propriety of securing the co-operation of members of Parliament in the withdrawal of all endowments should be impressed upon the conference [hear, hear].

Rev. Mr. JOHNSTONE remarked that many persons in the State had made use of them (the Voluntaries), and after their purpose had been served, were never heard of. He would suggest that none of the members should support a candidate for a seat in Parliament unless he was prepared to take away the Maynooth grant, to withdraw the *Regium Donum* from the Synod of Ulster, and from the Irish State-church.

Councillor GRAY reiterated the sentiments of Mr. Johnstone.

A long discussion followed, in the course of which several suggestions were made by various members, which were subsequently embodied in the following resolution, which was moved by the Rev. Mr. Robertson, of Stow, and unanimously agreed to:—

That the Executive Committee be instructed, among other things, to direct its attention to procuring and circulating information on the principles held on the important question of Church Establishments and Church property, with the view to which the latter might be applied; that the Executive Committee should direct its attention to the questions connected with the Annuity-tax and the Established Church of Scotland with the minority of the people; that means be taken, by petitions to Parliament, to direct its attention especially to the Irish Church, the *Regium Donum*, and the act endowing Maynooth, and to all acts by which the resources of the State are applied to the maintenance of religious worship and instruction in this country and in the colonies; that means be taken by the Executive Committee to have this question introduced into Parliament at the proper time; and that the question of the franchise, as regarded the enrolment of Dissenters, and how Dissenters ought to act at the election of members of Parliament, be especially attended to; and that it be remitted to the Executive Committee to take these suggestions into consideration, and to draw out a statement of the heads of the specific measures which may be deemed proper to present to Parliament and the country for their recommendation, as to which of these measures shall be first brought before Parliament and the country.

The Rev. Mr. CAIRNS, of Stewarton, suggested the propriety of having a paid lecturer to deliver lectures throughout the provinces, expounding the particular views of the Association.

Mr. MENZIES recommended the desirability of getting a secretary, who would likewise fulfil the duties of the lectureship.

The suggestion was remitted to the Committee for consideration.

This having finished the business before the conference, the Rev. Mr. Meikle closed the sederunt with prayer.

SCOTTISH ANTI-STATE-CHURCH ASSOCIATION.

A public meeting of those opposed to all State endowments of religion, and to the principles of an ecclesiastical Establishment, was held on Wednesday evening, in Dr. Peddie's Church, Bristol-street, under the auspices of the original Anti-state-church Association. A considerable number of Dissenting clergymen from a distance, and who had come to Edinburgh to attend the conference held in the forenoon, as well as clergymen and gentlemen belonging to this city, and holding Anti-state-church principles, were seated on the platform. Councillor Gray was called to the chair, and Mr. Jarvie, of Kelso, opened the meeting with prayer.

Mr. MILLAN, Secretary, read the Directors' Report, which detailed their proceedings for the past year, and which was, on the motion of Councillor Pow, approved of.

Addresses were then delivered, and resolutions moved, by the Rev. Dr. Macfarlane (Glasgow), Rev. Mr. Barr (Jedburgh), Rev. Mr. Kerr (Dunee), Rev. Mr. Middleton and Rev. M. Stirling (Kirkcubright), asserting that the tendency of recent events was to confirm the soundness of the principles held by the association; calling on the Legislature to redress the grievances of Ireland, by withdrawing the *Regium Donum* from Irish Protestant Dissenters, the grant to Maynooth, and abolishing the Established Church there; declaring against indiscriminate endowment in the colonies; protesting against the Roman Catholic body claiming an ascendancy over other Dissenters; and urging Dissenters to use all means, through the elective franchise or otherwise, to influence their representatives in Parliament, and to diffuse sound information throughout the country.

The Rev. F. JOHNSTONE then moved a resolution expressing gratification at the result of the conference of Dissenters that had that day been held, and remitting it to the Directors of this society, to confer with the committee of the association originated at the conference, with the view of merging this association into the larger one, which had assumed the same designation.

The resolution was seconded by the Rev. G. JOHNSTONE, and agreed to; and the meetings separated.

In reference to the spirit of the meetings the *Scottish Press* says:—

In the meetings there were discussions and occasional diversity of sentiment, but solely on such questions as how the end sought might be best attained. The Chairman, for example, threw out for consideration the idea whether, instead of interweaving the cardinal principle of the Association into its title, and thereby excluding all who could not pronounce the Voluntary creed, it might not be possible to organize a confederacy for attacking such laws or practical grievances, the removal of which would result in the separation of Church and State. This, it was thought, would secure the co-operation of many who are

not avowed Dissenters, and would render intelligible and commend the agitation to that most practical of all conclaves, the Imperial Parliament. There was a fear, however, expressed lest such a course would lead to the idea that there was a giving up, on the part of Voluntaries, of their distinctive watchword; that so the gain might be equivocal and the loss certain; and that what is held as a sound principle cannot and ought not to be placed in suspicious obscurity or juxtaposition. Again, anxiety was expressed by Dr. Wardlaw and others that care should be taken lest, while maintaining the battle of Dissent, we should forget that of Protestantism; and that while we have ourselves bravely in the one we should exhibit not inferior courage and determination in the other. There were those, too—staunch Voluntaries not the less—who saw no objection to a present demand for the withdrawal of Popish endowments ere they proceeded to a subsequent demand for the removal of Protestant endowments, solely because they would thereby enlist the support of a large number of Protestants to the first object, and, if successful, render the attack upon the other more simple and easy of accomplishment. But the feeling seemed general that such suggestions could not be accepted of either on the score of policy or principle. As to the policy, it would incense the Catholics, who heretofore could not but observe in the conduct of Dissenters that equity of demand which must command their respect; and, if persevered in, may open a door for approaching them with Bible truth, after all access has been denied to others. As to the principle, it might seem to be a giving up of that doctrine of Voluntaryism, in which is its essence, should we call upon the Legislature to attack one class of institutions and leave another class alone, because the one class pertain to Catholics and the other to Protestants; thus inviting the Legislature to do, what Voluntaries say they have no right to do, discriminate and make distinctions in matters of religion.

We have gone into these explanations to convince our readers how free and fair the discussions were, to indicate wherein doubts and difficulties were felt in some quarters to exist, and how entirely, after all, the Conference was at one in all that was distinctive and essential.

On the other hand, the *Edinburgh News* is less satisfied and more critical:—

The Anti-state-church conference was convened for Wednesday last, when about five hundred gentlemen (we cannot call them delegates) were present from various parts of the country, and it closed its business on Thursday with somewhat less than one-tenth of that number. That it was successful its warmest friends will hardly venture to assert; but we refrain from pronouncing our opinion till the report of the directors be laid before the next meeting, which is to take place as soon as possible. The official indications hitherto have been pervaded with the most intense sectarianism, and there is great reason to dread that its councils will be strongly guided by mere clerical influences. We have no objections to clergymen having all due influence in their proper sphere, but we have very great dread of organizations of this kind, whose management is almost exclusively, or even largely, under clerical control.

CLERICAL ATTENDANCE REFUSED TO THE DYING. —The Marylebone vestry has taken up, and considerable attention has been excited to, a painful circumstance, which is thus described by the *Daily News*:—

On Sunday evening, the 5th of January last, the wife of Mr. Bauer, a tradesman in Oxford-street, was on the point of death, and wishing to see a clergyman of the Established Church, one of Mr. Bauer's establishment, Miss James, hurried to the church of All Souls, where Mrs. Bauer had been married, where all her children had been christened, and where she was an attendant. There she obtained the address of the curate, Mr. Bacon, whose lodgings were some five minutes' walk from Mr. Bauer's house. Miss James hastened on to Mr. Bacon, and entreated him, without delay, to come to Mrs. Bauer. Mr. Bacon refused, on the ground that she was not one of his parishioners, and referred Miss James to the clergymen either of All Saints or St. Andrew's; Mr. Bauer's house being, he said, in one or other of those districts. Now, the clergymen of those districts are notoriously Tractarians; whilst the tradesman's dying wife was a Protestant. On her way to secure the attendance of one of them, Miss James, it seems, learnt the character of their religious opinions, and, shrinking from the responsibility of introducing such spiritual aid to Mrs. Bauer, she returned to Mr. Bacon, stated her objections, renewed her entreaties, and was again repulsed. In this extremity of woe Mr. Bauer appealed to a neighbouring tradesman, who immediately waited on a third clergyman, Mr. Braithwaite; and he, after the lapse of an hour and a half, during every minute of which Mr. Bauer was expected to expire, brought religious comfort to the dying woman.

The bishop decided, on reference to him, that Mr. Bacon had no right to minister in a neighbouring parish without the consent of its minister.

A NEW ANTI-KNOWLEDGE TAX MOVEMENT. —A meeting of gentlemen anxious for the freedom of the press, among whom were Joseph Hume, M.P., Richard Cobden, M.P., John Bright, M.P., Milner Gibson, M.P., William Scholefield, M.P., and William Ewart, M.P., was held at the Palace Hotel, New Palace-yard, on Thursday, when the following resolutions were passed unanimously:—Moved by Mr. Cobden, seconded by Mr. Scholefield:—

That whereas heavy taxes are laid on paper, foreign books, advertisements, and newspapers, and whereas all taxes which impede the diffusion of knowledge, and obstruct the progress of education, are highly injurious to the public interest, and are most impolitic sources of revenue, and whereas the penny stamp in particular almost prohibits newspapers to working men; and the persons now present, desirous of liberating the press from all taxation and from all control except that of a court of law, form themselves into a society, to be called "An Association for Promoting the Repeal of the Taxes on Knowledge."

Moved by Mr. Thornton Hunt, and seconded by Mr. Campkin:—

That the officers of the Association be a president, treasurer, sub-treasurer, chairman, and secretary, and a committee with power to add to their number.

Moved by Mr. W. A. Wilkinson, and Mr. W. Hickson seconded the third resolution, that the following be elected the officers and committee of the Association:—

President—T. Milner Gibson, M.P.; Treasurer—Francis Place; Sub-Treasurer—J. Alfred Novello; Chairman—Richard Moore; Secretary—C. Dobson Collett; Committee—William Addicote, Thomas Allan, Edinburgh, James Baldwin, Birmingham, John Bainbridge, J. C. Beaumont, Wakefield, Dr. Black, Dr. Bowkett, John Bright, M.P., C. J. Bunting, Norwich, Henry Campkin, W. J. Carless, John Cassell, R. Cobden, M.P., George Dawson, Birmingham, Thomas Donnelly, Passmore Edwards, W. Ewart, M.P., Samuel Harrison, William Hickson, G. J. Holyoake, Joseph Hume, M.P., G. Thornton Hunt, Joseph Hyde, Rev. E. E. Larken, Dr. Lee, G. H. Lewis, Christopher M'Guinness, W. K. Morley, John Parker, William Scholefield, M.P., Edward Wallhouse, W. A. Wilkinson, Thomas Wilson.

RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

CONGREGATIONAL CHAPEL BUILDING SOCIETY.

A special conference, in connexion with this Society, was held at the Congregational Library, on Wednesday, the 12th inst., for the purpose of promoting chapel extension in the metropolis. We regret that the unusual demands upon our space prevents us giving more than a bare outline of the proceedings.

After tea, EUSEBIUS SMITH, Esq., treasurer, was called to the chair. In a brief address, he stated that the object of the meeting was to receive from the pastors, deacons, and other influential gentlemen present, such practical suggestions respecting the important work of chapel extension in the metropolis, and such general sanction and countenance to the operations of the society, as would more effectually aid it in its future course.

The Rev. J. C. GALLAWAY, the Secretary, then read a brief statement, chiefly of a statistical character, with a view to show the very great necessity that exists for very vigorous and united efforts in this vitally important and pre-eminently effective department of Christian enterprise. It is true, he stated, that the Independents of London and its vicinity can number 140 chapels—a larger number than belongs to any other community of Christians out of the pale of the Establishment; but still, what is this number—yielding a united accommodation amounting, perhaps, to 130,000 or 140,000 sittings—compared with the entire population of London, which requires accommodation for 1,125,000 persons, and which population has yet been provided for, by all denominations of Christians combined, only to the extent of about 600,000 sittings? The special claims which London presents to the Congregationalists—the special reasons for anticipating the success of their efforts, were then adverted to, and the statements of the Secretary closed with the following observations:—

The committee pretends to no infallibility in respect to the constitution, the aims, and the operations of the society. In some of its plans it may have erred—some vital methods of success it may have left untouched. It scrupulously abstains from assuming, in any sense, a tone of dictation, however constrained, at times, it may be to speak in words of burning zeal. It would meet the present assembly in the spirit of fraternal confidence, asking for all suggestions, all counsel, that will help on more efficiently an object which all present have met to promote. The Committee feels that it is not possible for the Society to succeed as it should, nor would it be desirable, if it were possible, without the cordial concurrence of the pastors, deacons, and members of the metropolitan churches. The constitution of the Society is framed with the view of rendering it, as much as possible, the agent of the united Congregational pastors and Churches of London, in a work of effectual aggression on the ignorance, the vice, the superstition, and the infidelity of tens of thousands of the inhabitants of this vast metropolis. The united action of such parties, in such a work, is an attainment not yet reached; but is a Christian movement, in which the Committee of this Society has great faith—which, it is believed, the Great Head of the Church will abundantly bless, and at which it would respectfully recommend all present earnestly and steadily to aim [cheers].

The Rev. J. STOUGHTON proposed the first resolution, for which and the following see our advertising columns. Since the completion of Horbury Chapel, Horton-street Chapel [with which he is connected] had received a larger amount of the Divine blessing than previously to its erection. He mentioned this to encourage his brethren in the ministry. Let there be no jealousy in the building of new chapels. The Chairman intimated that one of the last acts of the Committee was to vote, from the gift of Miss Fleurea, a sum of £500. towards the erection at Chelsea. Mr. E. SWAIN, in seconding the resolution, said, that not only was Chelsea an important district, but that Kennington had large claims on the attention of the Committee. He fully agreed in the remark of Mr. Stoughton, as to the necessity of actual organizations. A gentleman suggested whether there might not be in London that which existed in Edinburgh—a Ragged Church. Now, a vast number of students in the New College were unemployed; was it not possible and desirable that they should be engaged in occasionally delivering addresses to the poorer classes? It would serve to bring out their talents, and would, he thought, be of material benefit to themselves and those whom they might address. The Rev. T. Aveling said that the simple fact of bringing the Chapel Building Society before his people last June, and first preaching two sermons to them, had led, very unexpectedly at the time, to their building a new place of worship, with accommodation for 1,500 people [cheers]. Mr. SAMUEL MORLEY moved the second resolution. He said, the first part appeared to him to be an exceedingly comprehensive vote of confidence in the committee, and he believed they thoroughly deserved it [cheers]. He, however, felt it more necessary that they should endeavour to stimulate others to build, than that they themselves should be always building for others. By this course they would be far more likely to secure themselves from embarrassment and trouble. They should also, he thought, be more ready to lend money than to make grants; by that means they would be better prepared to lend larger sums than to give even lesser amounts, since, by merely lending, their funds would not be diminishing, but accumulating. He, for one, wished to know the best method of obtaining an influence, in a monetary point of view, over the minds of the wealthier members of churches. Sure he was that pastors were not fit and proper instruments for the work. That duty should devolve especially upon the deacons. He would tell those who were so terribly afraid of Papal aggression, that help to the society was one of the best and most effectual efforts to prevent the spread of Popery. He had more faith in the efforts of a single congregation than he had in fifty visits to Windsor [laughter and cheers].

Dr. LANKESTER, New College, in seconding the resolution, said, although, perhaps, he might not have fully approved of all the acts of the society, yet he had no fault to find with the committee, or with the rules and objects of the institution [hear, hear]. Dr. CAMPBELL and JOSIAH CONDER, Esq., followed. The latter speaker said that, with regard to the observation of Mr. Morley, he did not think so lightly as some of his friends did on the constitutional privilege of addressing the Crown [cheers]. The Rev. CHARLES GILBERT then moved the third resolution. Surely it would be an easy thing for a hundred churches to enter with zeal into an object so intimately connected with the spiritual education of this mighty city, and the thing would be done. Auxiliaries might be formed, ladies' committees instituted, trustees appointed, and the amount sought by the committee would be forthcoming, by this species of organization, within a very brief space [cheers]. The Rev. J. KENNEDY seconded the resolution, and after a few remarks from Mr. D. PRATT a vote of thanks was passed to the Chairman, and the interesting proceedings terminated by the singing of the Doxology.

LUTON, BEDS.—On the 12th inst. a meeting of the church and congregation assembling in Union Chapel was held, for the purpose of presenting to their pastor (the Rev. R. Robinson) a testimonial expressive of their esteem and affection, and as an acknowledgment of his indefatigable and successful labours among them during the past eight years. The testimonial consisted of five-and-twenty costly volumes, among which were:—Cobbins' Condensed Commentary, Kitto's Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature, Hengstenberg on the Genuineness of the Pentateuch, Fairbairn on the Typology of Scripture, Pye Smith's Scripture Testimony to the Messiah, Knight's Pictorial England, Macaulay's Essays, Sir James Mackintosh's Miscellaneous Works, the Bards of the Bible, &c. &c.

SHEFFIELD.—The recognition services connected with the settlement of the Rev. D. Loxton over the church and congregation assembling in Mount Zion, were held on Wednesday last. After the usual devotional services, and the Rev. J. H. Muir had stated the nature of a Christian church and ministry, Mr. Loxton, in reply to an inquiry proposed by the Rev. W. B. Landells, gave details of his religious history, and an exposition of his views. The Rev. T. Smith, A.M., offered the recognition prayer; and the Rev. Dr. Vaughan, of the Lancashire Independent College, gave the charge to the minister. The attendance was numerous, and the impression of the services such as not likely speedily to be forgotten. After the service, the ministers and friends adjourned to the Cutlers' Hall, where they dined together. The room was quite filled, a great majority being gentlemen. The Revs. Dr. Vaughan, R. A. Raleigh (Masborough), J. Spencer (Bolsterstone), Thomas Smith, A.M., J. H. Muir, W. B. Landells, J. E. Giles, J. Baty, T. Rhodes, — Galloworthy, Melton, were present.

ABBOT'S ROOTHING, ESSEX.—The Rev. Charles Bateman, of Abbot's Roothing, Essex, where he had been labouring about eighteen years, has received and accepted a unanimous invitation to the pastorate of the congregation assembling at Newland Chapel, Lincoln, and has removed there. Upon resigning his charge, Mr. Bateman proposed to the people as his successor, Mr. Stacy, who had been some years town missionary at Bishop's Stortford, and had supplied the pulpit with much acceptance during his absence. The Church and subscribers at once cordially agreed to the proposal, and gave Mr. Stacy a unanimous invitation, which he accepted, and entered upon the engagement on the 9th instant.

WOBURN, BEDS.—On the evening of the 4th inst. several of the members and friends of the Independent Chapel, Woburn, Beds, met for the purpose of presenting their pastor, the Rev. J. Andrews, with a purse of 12 guineas, as a token of their esteem and affection. Joseph Osborn, Esq., of Dunstable, the senior deacon, presented, and Mr. Andrews acknowledged, the gift, in touching and affectionate speeches.

NATIONAL LAND COMPANY DISSOLVED.—The standing orders have been declared to be complied with in respect of the measure for dissolving the National Land Company, and for disposing of the lands and property belonging to the company. The bill states that it was established in 1845 for the purpose of purchasing land on which to locate such of its members as might be selected, amongst whom lands were to be allotted, and buildings erected, to enable them, by moderate industry, to live in comparative comfort and independence. The capital was to be £195,000 in 150,000 shares of £1 6s. each. But the bill states that shares exceeding that number may have been subscribed for and issued. Shares had been taken and subscriptions expended in the purchase of lands in the name of, and conveyed to, Mr. Feargus O'Connor. A National Land and Labour Bank was established in connexion with the society, and as doubts have arisen as to whether the undertaking did not come within the provisions of the 39 Geo. III., entitled, "An Act for the more effectual Suppression of Societies established for seditious and treasonable Purposes," and as to whether the undertaking was illegal as a lottery, and the subscribers having commenced legal proceedings against Mr. O'Connor for the recovery of their deposits, the bill proposes to refer the company to be wound up by one of the masters in Chancery.

From the openness of the season, the wheat plant has made astonishing progress. In some localities it is at least one foot in height, and looks remarkably strong and healthy.—*Morning Post*.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE CHOLERA IN JAMAICA.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

DEAR SIR,—May I crave space in your columns to state that, by the mail of the 15th ult., I remitted to the West Indies one hundred pounds, to be equally divided between the Baptist and Independent Missionaries, for their immediate relief under the distressing circumstances already made public.

There is a small sum in hand at the bankers', and in the hope that other friends may feel it in their hearts to render service to men and brethren who have no power to help themselves, I venture again to entreat their attention to the letter of the Rev. J. Reed.

When the subscription list is finally closed, I shall solicit space to state the entire sum raised; those who have kindly aided have all received individual acknowledgments of their generosity.

I remain, my dear Sir, yours truly,

WILLIAM G. BARRETT.

Royston, Herts, February 17th, 1851.

MR. TUCKER'S REPLY EXAMINED AND FOUND WANTING.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

DEAR SIR,—Permit me to make a very few observations, which appear to be necessary, on Mr. Tucker's second letter regarding Dr. Thomson. After this, so far as I am concerned, the matter may be allowed to rest, as I care not to prolong a discussion so personal with an unknown opponent, under (as I understand) a fictitious name, and who thus makes his stab in the dark.

The greater part of his last seems to me sufficiently answered by the statements of my former letter. But he communicates a piece of information to your readers which is not just to me. He says, that I am "chairman of the charity committee, and the travelling advocate." Now, the truth is, that I formed no part of the deputation which visited any of the Scottish or English towns, till in the end of last month and the beginning of this, along with the Rev. J. McWhirter. I visited Devonport, Plymouth, Torquay, Bath, Cheltenham, and Gloucester—receiving collections after sermons and at public meetings, and obtaining subscriptions for the Testimonial—spending only about three weeks in the work; less than the amount of time that several other ministers from Scotland have devoted to it, and for this I am styled "the travelling advocate!" I found parties everywhere, I am happy to say, who acknowledged Dr. Thomson's claims, and cordially responded to the appeal on his behalf.

Mr. Tucker ignores the facts stated in my letter in proof of Dr. Thomson's great exertions to obtain the abolition of the monopoly. He could not disprove them, and he finds it convenient to pass them over without the slightest allusion. Is this ingenuous? He makes no reference to Dr. Thomson's exertions to cheapen the Scriptures in 1840, immediately after the abolition of the Scotch monopoly, and he speaks as if he were inactive till 1844, by which time others had done the work. The candour of such a representation is quite a different matter.

He insists on the competing claims of Messrs. Childs and Hume. When a testimonial is proposed to Mr. Childs for the important public service rendered by him in connexion with the Parliamentary Committee on the Bible Monopoly, I shall give my mite; and if it shall be proposed to reward Mr. Hume for his Parliamentary services, I shall consider his labours in the Bible cause as forming his strongest claim on me; but this does not affect my conviction—a conviction which I have in common with many others who have examined the subject, and can judge of it impartially—that, so far as Scotland is concerned, Dr. Thomson's services have been far more important than those of any other individual. And it is admitted that the lowering of the price in England is entirely owing to the abolition of the Scotch monopoly.

I am, my dear Sir, yours truly,

PETER MEARNS.

Coldstream, February 15, 1851.

Dr. DICK, OF BROUGHTY FERRY.—A gentleman in Dundee communicates the following to the *Scottish Press*:—

In the spring of last year a subscription-paper was opened in Dundee for a testimonial to Dr. Dick. It was conducted in a private manner, in order to offer no obstacle to his merits being considered and attended to by the Government, out of the Pension Fund at their disposal. I am sorry to learn that the application has been unsuccessful. The local testimonial has been undertaken by Messrs. James Kennedy, Alexander Easson, and Edward Baxter, and the money has been placed in the British Linen Company's Bank, in their names, to be paid to Dr. Dick according to his wish. The chief part was received in May last, and Dr. Dick has not applied for any portion of the fund as yet. It amounts to £223 13s. 2d., of which £138 9s. 6d. has been collected in Dundee and neighbourhood, £22 2s. 6d. in Brechin, and £63 1s. 2d. in Edinburgh. If the testimonial had been advertised, the amount would have greatly exceeded the sum in bank. As stated, the effort was a private one; and if Dr. Dick's friends in England and Scotland think proper to make further contributions, the Dundee committee will be very glad to receive them, to be paid to Dr. Dick in such a way as they may direct. The subscriptions in Dundee were taken to be applied, in case of his death, for the benefit of Mrs. Dick and the grandchildren.

NEWSPAPERS AND BOOKS FOR THE COLONIES.—Notice has been issued at the General Post-office that henceforth all newspapers to be sent to the British colonies or possessions, or to foreign parts, must be put into the post within seven days after the day on which they were published. By a Treasury warrant, on and after the 1st March next, books for the following colonies may be transmitted by post, at the undermentioned rates:—Gibraltar, Malta, the Ionian Islands, and the British possessions in the West Indies, Newfoundland, Halifax, &c., viz., not exceeding 1lb. 6d.; not exceeding 2lb. 1s.; 4lb., 2s., and so on in proportion. They must be sent open at the sides, the same as newspapers.

THE LATE DR. PYE SMITH.

(From a Correspondent.)

JOHN PYE SMITH, born in 1775, was the son of a respectable bookseller in Sheffield. For some time he assisted in the business of his father; and surrounded by the works either of the Puritans, of the later defenders of a liberal creed, young Smith not only fed his mind with their works, but formed that studious habit which characterised him to the last hours of his life. Among his earliest associates was his illustrious fellow-townsmen, Montgomery, a spirit kindred to his own. While they were yet young, the first French revolution threw its volcanic glare over Europe. The tyrants, against whom the great Republic proclaimed war, trembled on their thrones. Among all aristocracies and courtly societies there thrilled a new and strange fear. Democracy had risen against hoary despotisms, and against priestly misrule, covetousness, and profligacy. European society heaved with the fearful earthquake, which, for a season, shook down the power of prince and the pomp of prelate; and which opened to the eye of an affrighted and astonished world the cruelties and horrors perpetrated under a government holding itself irresponsible. This storm, which swept over the continental states, aroused a new thought in England. Men suddenly became alive to abuses which custom had rendered almost tolerable. They, who foresaw the advances of humanity, began to agitate for reform, and to demand that the political atmosphere be freer and healthier. J. P. Smith, with the zeal and freshness of youth, wrote occasional articles in his friend's journal on behalf of reform; and, indeed, he became, during a short period of Mr. Montgomery's imprisonment, the conductor of that journal. Disinclined, however, to further political pursuits, he began to turn his attention to the Christian ministry; and, after some hesitation, he resolved to devote himself to the noblest service which can engross the attention and exhaust the energies of man. He was convinced he might do signal service by his pen to the great cause of freedom and of truth; but he had resolved to spend his life in special consecration to Him who came to seek and to save the lost. He was admitted a student at Rotherham College, and passed his academical course, remarkable not less for his ceaseless industry and great attainments, than for his piety and sweetness of disposition. In 1800, the Chair of Theology at Homerton College became vacant, and Mr. John Pye Smith, though only twenty-five years of age, was appointed to the vacancy; and, in the beginning of the following year, he entered upon his arduous duties, which, for half a century, he discharged with consummate ability, and with singular tact and prudence. In a few years after his installation as Principal of that venerable institution, the small church worshipping in the Old Gravel-pits' Chapel, at Hackney, invited him to be their minister; and to that congregation of faithful men, loving and beloved, he taught, for nearly fifty years, the glorious verities of the Christian faith. The village of Homerton was, more than any other, a suitable place of residence for a man for whom, in comparison with the marvels of literature and science, the busy world had but few attractions. This village is, perhaps, the meanest and dullest of all the metropolitan suburbs. Its proximity to the stagnant flats through which the far-famed river Lea winds its way; its heavy atmosphere; the clumsy architecture and gloomy appearance of its few houses, and its almost complete isolation, made it a fitting place for a life of seclusion in intellectual employ; while its short distance from the City rendered access at once easy and pleasant to all the sources of learning and science for which London is so renowned. There this great man, who has so lately left us, while hearing the almost everlasting murmur from the neighbouring city, had tranquillity such as a hermit might desire; and there, while he refined his accumulated knowledge, and increased its stores, he compiled those laborious works which will be—

"His monument to far posterity."

During the course of years in which Dr. Smith presided over the Divinity College at Homerton, he was not without trouble. Academic discords, outward assaults, and stormy controversy, frequently disturbed the harmony of his life. Sometimes he was attacked by the boisterous and virulent, who opposed his clear argument by clamour and abuse; sometimes his brethren remonstrated at his proceedings, as altogether eccentric and hazardous—but he held on his undaunted way, true as steel, invincible in perseverance, and adhering to truth and courtesy, whatever might befall. Most gentle in disposition, kindly and charitable to a fault, and one of the most refined gentlemen of his day, Dr. Smith was, perhaps as much as any man of the age, assailed in his course, questioned in his motives, and suspected in his conduct; but he was the Bayard of the Nonconformist world, and there lives not a man among us who can truly say that the illustrious divine was ever false wilfully to his principles, contradictory to his professions, or forgetful,

even in the least, either of Christian duty or polite courtesy. In the home circle, the lecture-room, and the college-hall, Dr. Smith was a pattern of the humanities and charities of life. Making allowance for the frailty of our nature, and remembering how often he had to bear the arrogance and insolence of men who were greatly inferior to him in attainment and in piety, we pronounce him unhesitatingly to have been one of the most excellent of mankind. Kindly and unsuspecting, he was sometimes duped; but to the unfriended student, to the poor and the distressed, he was a firm and fast friend. With a perfect self-denial, the simplicity of a little child, and the humbleness of a truly holy man, he was unostentatious of his immense knowledge, unobtrusive, and retiring. To the very last he was a learner. His great aim was not merely to be level with, but to be in advance of the age. His advice to his students was always to buy the latest works; and his own vast library, containing the richness of British and continental literature, proves that he always acted out the advice he gave his pupils. His extent of reading was almost incredible—few of the volumes worthy to be read, in the library of Homerton Old College, were without the well-known marks of his perusal. It were hazardous to predicate as to the exact extent of his knowledge. He knew something of everything; and he knew everything well. He was a very accurate and chaste classic, and his Latin compositions are remarkable for the purity and elegance of their style. He was among the best of British Hebraists, and unequalled in his knowledge of pure theology; a skilful biblical critic, and well versed in the sacred lore—ancient, scholastic, and modern. He was an accomplished French scholar; and we have always considered him among the first of those few Englishmen who know the German language completely and philosophically. In what with other men would frequently have been a spare hour, we have seen him reading with delight from the muse of Dante. He had some acquaintance with the Syriac, Arabic, and Dutch languages; but his general knowledge seemed almost without a limit. With geology, botany, comparative anatomy, and entomology, he was perfectly acquainted. Of books and their authors he seemed to know all that man could know. Every hour added something to his great knowledge, as every hour was diligently used. An early riser, temperate in all his habits, and industrious through the whole course of life, few men ever achieved more than he; few have left less unaccomplished. Scrupulously neat in his attire, strictly though not formally observant of all that was dignified and polite, he was also a very Martinet in literature. No error escaped his eagle-eye; no impropriety passed unreviewed. But he corrected with humility; and his reproof was "an excellent oil."

The virtues and charities of Dr. Pye Smith's private life will not be fully known till the day dawns in which the secrets of all hearts shall be revealed. His children and kindred may, in some measure, testify to the former, and hundreds of poor Dissenting ministers in England and Wales can witness that his heart never turned from the worthy, and that his purse never closed against the needy. We have positive knowledge, that for several years of his life Dr. Smith bestowed in subscriptions and in charities a large portion of his income. He was not among the number of those who, in their abundant resources, glorify themselves in showy subscription-lists, making their benevolence an index to their fame; but he gave in secret, or he made his students his frequent almoners. In this, as in all other of his good works, imitative of his Redeemer, he truly

"Did good by stealth, and blushed to find it fame."

In the matter of the *Regium Donum*, though he strenuously maintained what this journal has always opposed, he acted with singular justice and candour; and though, in thus persevering in what to him was a conscientious course, the evening of his life was saddened, and his green old age disturbed, by severe censures of his conduct; he grieved sorely that he acted inharmoniously with his friends. In politics Dr. Smith was always on the right side. In his judgment Toryism, such as he had experienced it under Pitt, Castlereagh, and Liverpool, was not only the embodiment of all selfishness, but the type of sin. His early habits and associations gave a bias to his political opinions. Persecution, whether for conscience-sake or for freedom's sake, for denying the divinity of a pontiff or for refusing payment of a church-rate; monied exclusiveness; the grasping State-church; war; standing armies; the pension-list;—all these were included in his idea of Toryism, as, indeed, they necessarily result from its principles. In his political opinions he was a thorough Radical—which is only as much as to say, he aimed at all that advocated rational progress, and the instruction and improvement of mankind. The life of a Professor of Theology is necessarily both tranquil and secluded; but when great questions, involving the liberties and happiness of the people, were in agitation, Dr. Smith forgot the professor in the patriot, and actively engaged in them all. His

magnificent donation to the funds of the Anti-corn-law League is fresh in the recollection of our readers; and on no occasion, when the interests of liberty demanded, did he fail to acquit himself well as a Christian citizen. As a controversialist, Dr. Smith was frank and generous to the last degree; severe only against wilful error; never giving way to bitter invective or vulgar personality; and ever mindful, as it would seem, that truth is not supported by, as it never needs the aid of, violence and clamour; so that, in all his controversial writings we fail to discover the anger of an irritated spirit, or the malice of a revengeful heart. But if Dr. Pye Smith was honoured as a public man, he was tenderly beloved by those who knew him in his home, and who shared his affectionate regard. He was a true and constant friend, a safe counsellor, a tender husband and parent. Three children survive him; the fruit of his first marriage. In the decline of life, and after having passed many years as a widower, he married the relict of the Rev. W. Clayton, of Saffron Walden, an elegant and accomplished lady, with whom he lived for eight years in uninterrupted harmony and happiness, and who now in woe almost "too deep for tears" mourns the loss of him, whose decease, though at an advanced age, is a just cause for sorrow both to the church and to the world.

For many years, Dr. Pye Smith preached to the Independent congregation assembling in the Old Gravel-pits Chapel, Hackney. He was never very attractive as a public speaker; and his feeble voice alone had prevented his complete success as an orator, even had he been ambitious of rhetorical fame. His utter lack of declamatory vehemence and of pulpit cleverness, and the generally easy style of his address, saved him from the equivocal dignity of a popular preacher. To those who went to the house of prayer to gaze at pulpit antics, and stare at theological crudities or novelties, Dr. Smith was altogether a dull and uninteresting preacher. They who love that style of pulpit oratory which approximates in quality to Hervey's "Meditations," who are pleased with flowing sentences, graphic descriptions, and well-rounded periods; and those unfortunate persons who are gratified by a full display of glittering or euphonious adjectives outnumbering their substantives; would have much disliked Dr. Pye Smith's style of public discourse, which partook largely of the exegetical and the hortatory. Accustomed, during the week, to lecture to his class without reserve on the great truths of the everlasting Word, he preached very much as he lectured, with a simple explanatory method. His sermons charmed the philosopher, while they taught the child. Sometimes, however, led aside either by his vast knowledge, or impelled by some public agitation of the day, he would introduce into his sermons topics which some might consider foreign to the nature and purpose of pulpit-address. We had it from his own lips that, going once to preach to a large and wealthy congregation in the city, notorious at that time for their actual or imputed Toryism, he thought it right to lecture on "Christian Ethics," and he took occasion to give them a strong oration on the injustice and wickedness of the corn-laws. The *Record* of the ensuing week was furious at his impiety; but the brave old patriot said he would certainly repeat the dose if he had opportunity. But, in the regular course of his ministry, Dr. Smith's sermons were exquisitely simple, fervent, always full of instruction, and able to "make wise unto salvation." He was beloved by his congregation, to whom he was also much attached. He was to them as a father, venerable, gentle, and very holy. Of all men he has seemed to us likeliest to him "whom Jesus loved," and who saw afar the glory and the joy in the great home-land where the good and faithful rest in peace.

As an author, the illustrious deceased has a world-wide fame. An early and constant writer for that admirable periodical, the *Eclectic Review*, he became the associate and friend of Foster and Fuller, of Chalmers and Hall. His great work, however, that by which he will be known and honoured by posterity, and on which he "reposed his chief hope of usefulness," is his "Scripture Testimony to the Messiah." This work, written in reply to Mr. Belsham's "Calm Inquiry, &c.," has passed into the fourth edition in this country, and has, we believe, circulated largely in America. After the publication of "The Scripture Testimony," Yale College presented the author with the diploma of Doctor of Divinity, at the instigation of Dr. Dwight. They who read the whole of this incomparable defence of the Trinitarian faith, will have a clue to the labours and learning, to the unwearied industry and vast knowledge of the writer. It was Dr. Smith's golden rule to take nothing for granted in the absence of proof. His authorities, consequently, are very many; and they who best knew his mental habits can aver that he had well read even those works from which he quoted only a few sentences, or which he used merely as works of reference. This great work, its author's masterpiece, shows that a truly great man always leads, or at least is far in advance of, the popular mind. The refer-

ences in it are chiefly to the works of the great German critics and philologists—those men whom some of the literary guides among us deride because they are ignorant of their works, or condemn because they cannot understand them. Till a very recent period, German literature was almost as unknown in this country as the literature of Finland or the Crimea. Dr. Pye Smith foresaw the time when the treasures of German learning and research would be highly prized among us, and he made that wealth his own. This work was followed by that entitled "Scripture and Geology," on the publication of which many of his weak-minded or unscientific brethren suspected his orthodoxy, because it, or the science it defended, seemed to them at variance with the Mosaic cosmogony. Numerous other works have proceeded from his pen—but our limits will not permit us to specify them.

As a tutor, Dr. Pye Smith's name will be fragrant in the memory of many Nonconformist ministers. He adopted prelection as his method of instruction—the method in use generally in the Scottish universities, and which gives the professor the most scope and freedom. Here he had an ample field for the exhibition of his immense mental resources. Without the stern discipline of the university, Dr. Smith charmed, while he taught, his students. His lectures on pastoral duties were interspersed with many most amusing anecdotes, gathered in the course of a long and busy life; and while few men had a larger store of such illustrations, none could surpass him in felicity of narration. His theological lectures, delivered to his divinity class at Homerton, are a perfect thesaurus of biblical learning. The more diligent students were very careful to copy these in full; but, for the benefit of religious societies generally, it were well that such theological wealth should be circulated through the country. We trust the suggestion for their publication may be at once adopted.

Dr. Pye Smith's students loved him as a father; for his simple kindness and unostentatious goodness won all hearts. For fifty years the great divine presided over Homerton College, till that institution was merged into New College. Retiring from the scene of a long and laborious usefulness, he went to live at Guildford, where, it was hoped, in the society of his accomplished wife, and in proximity to his excellent family and friends, he might spend the evening of a tranquil and a happy age. But such expectations were not to be realized. His great mission had been accomplished; and it only remained for him to go hence to the soul's true home. Worn-out and worn-out, on the night of February 5th, without a murmur or a groan, the illustrious and beloved old man finished his course, and the mortal put on immortality. The extinction of so great a luminary leaves us a sad darkness. He has left none behind him to be compared with himself in accurate knowledge and immense research. Many tears will be shed upon his grave; many poor village ministers will deplore the generous benefactor who made their homes happy at least once a year; many whom he taught and counselled will cherish his memory and strive to imitate his virtues, and none more fully than his mourning friend who writes this brief memorial of a good man passed into the skies.

THE FUNERAL.

The mortal remains of this great and good man were interred on Saturday last in Abney-park Cemetery. So early as eleven o'clock, a large number of people had assembled in the space opposite Homerton College, which became greatly augmented by a quarter to one, when the corpse was borne from the College, and conveyed by bearers to the Old Gravel-pits Meeting-house, so long the sphere of Dr. Smith's pastoral labours. We condense the account of the proceedings from the *Patriot* of Monday.

The weather proving favourable, the procession walked in the following order:—

OFFICIATING MINISTERS.	
Rev. J. C. Harrison.	Rev. G. Clayton.
Rev. T. Binney.	Rev. J. Davies.
FORMER PUPILS OF DR. SMITH, THE LAST SIX ACTING AS PAL- LEAKERS.	
Rev. J. Brown.	Rev. B. Davey.
J. Harsant.	G. P. Davies.
Rev. J. N. Goulty.	Rev. J. Macdon.
J. Haydon.	Rev. E. Stallybrass.
J. Stockbridge.	S. England.
	A. C. Newth.
RELATIVES.	
Mr. E. Smith.	Mr. J. W. Smith.
S. J. Nash.	P. H. Pye Smith.
E. B. Pye Smith.	J. W. Pye Smith.
W. Nash.	Right Hon. M. T. Baines.
E. Baines.	Mr. J. Leader.
C. Reed.	J. J. Habershon.
Mr. A. Foulger.	Mr. H. Rutt.
NEIGHBOURING MINISTERS.	
Rev. Dr. Burder.	Rev. Dr. Cox.
Dr. Henderson.	J. Watson.
S. Ransom.	J. Angus.
DEACONS.	
Mr. Underhill.	Mr. Parker.
Olding.	Carter.
CHURCH AND CONGREGATION.	
Mr. Sewell.	Mr. H. Sewell.
Kent.	Le Mare, sen.
Bourn.	Johnston.
W. Underhill.	Walford.
Burn.	A. Le Mare.
Haywood.	Walker.
Vines.	M. Le Mare.

Coventry.	T. Underhill.
J. Le Mare.	Chapman.
DEPUTATION FROM HOMERTON COLLEGE.	
Rev. J. Youkney.	Dr. W. Smith.
	S. Morley, Esq.
DEPUTATION FROM NEW COLLEGE.	
Rev. Dr. Harris.	Prof. Godwin.
Rev. J. Stoughton.	Joshua Wilson, Esq.
Prof. P. Smith.	Prof. Nenner.
Dr. Lancaster.	Rev. W. Farrer.
DEPUTATION FROM THE LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY.	
Rev. J. J. Freeman.	Rev. E. Frost.
Rev. E. Manning.	Rev. G. Rose.
DEPUTATION FROM MILL-HILL GRAMMAR-SCHOOL.	
E. Edwards, Esq.	E. Burditt, Esq.
J. B. White, Esq.	A. Wells, Esq.
	Rev. S. England.
DEPUTATION FROM THE PEACE SOCIETY.	
C. Hindley, Esq., M.P.	Rev. H. Richard.
Mr. J. Jones.	Mr. J. Brockway.

Each side of the road was lined with spectators, many of whom had attired themselves in the habiliments of mourning. Most of the shops, also, along the line of route were wholly or partially closed, in testimony of respect for the departed. When the body arrived at the chapel, all the space, except that allotted to those who composed the procession, was occupied—most of the audience being dressed in black—and subsequently large numbers were unable to obtain admission. The coffin having been placed immediately in front of the pulpit.

The Rev. JOSHUA HARRISON commenced the solemn service, by reading several appropriate passages of Scripture, and offering a very suitable and impressive prayer.

The Rev. J. N. GOULTY, of Brighton, gave out a hymn, which having been sung, the Rev. GEORGE CLAYTON then ascended the pulpit, and delivered a funeral address, which the demand upon our space will not permit us to give. Another hymn was then sung, and the service concluded with a prayer by Mr. Binney.

After the service in the chapel, the procession moved on in 18 mourning coaches, with proper attendants (followed by several private carriages), by Chatham-place, Morning-lane, Church-street, and round Dalston-corner, through the New-road, across Newington-common, to the Abney-park Cemetery, where it arrived about 3 o'clock. The procession halted at the chapel in the cemetery, and proceeded on foot in the same order as before, passing Dr. Watts's statue, to the new burial vault prepared for the occasion. The coffin was at once placed in the grave in the presence of a great concourse of spectators. The Rev. John Davies—Dr. Smith's successor in the pastorate—delivered a short address and offered a brief prayer, when the assembly dispersed, leaving the body of their dear and honoured friend in the tomb, but with the joyful hope, that when the trumpet shall sound, it will come forth to the resurrection of eternal life.

THE ELECTIONS.

Every day of the past week has had its election proceedings. On Monday, Mr. Hatchell, the Irish Attorney-General, was quietly re-elected for Windsor. On Tuesday, the Falkirk burghs nomination took place—Mr. Baird, a Conservative, contesting the vacancy with Mr. Lock, a Ministerialist; and the former succeeding by a majority of 66, after most disgraceful scenes of riot and intoxication, which at last compelled the interference of Sheriff Alison and a party of military from Glasgow. The supply of drink was unlimited throughout the week to the rude miners and colliers of the neighbourhood, as well as to voters. On Wednesday, the Pontefract nomination was enlivened by the putting forward of Lord Pollington, without his consent; but the Ministerial candidate, the Hon. B. B. Lawley, gained an easy victory.

The South Notts election—that has so long excited interest and expectancy, from being a contest between a farmer's and a landlord's nominee, Mr. Barrow and Lord Newark—commenced on Thursday. The excitement was intense, and the run very close. On the first day, Mr. Barrow had 1,282—Lord Newark, 1,241. At the close, Mr. Barrow had a majority of 11!—the numbers being 1,493 and 1,482.

The most wonderful exertions (says the *Times*) were made on both sides, night and day, for two months past, the candidates themselves working quite as hard as the most zealous of their supporters. Electors were brought to vote from all parts of the three kingdoms, and several from the continent. On the evening of the first day's poll, one of Mr. Barrow's brothers took a special engine to London, and returned with four electors in time to record their votes in different districts. If rumour may be trusted, enormous sums have been offered or given as bribes, some of Lord Newark's supporters being said to have offered as much as £200 for a single vote! In some cases farmers were actually dragged from their hiding places, in hay or straw stacks, taken to the poll, and forced to vote contrary to their wishes. The answer to "Whom do you vote for?" frequently was, "Lord Newark, I suppose;" the unwilling tenant at the same time looking into his landlord's face for a nod of assent.

One of the first effects of this bold struggle is seen in Bedfordshire, in which Mr. Houghton, the Free-trade farmer, who lately contested Aylesbury, has suddenly come forward, and was received at the nomination, which took place on Monday, with much enthusiasm.

The *Cape Town Mail* states, that upwards of sixty Kaffre families have left a village near Cape Town, "declaring that they had been called to their own land to witness some wonderful prophet, who can spread a mat upon the sea and stand on it,—plant a grain of Kaffre corn which in a few hours will grow up and yield abundance of grain,—and raise their ancestors from their graves."

IRELAND.

A PRO-PAPAL AGITATION is rising with great vigour. The Roman Catholic journals, metropolitan and provincial, have all sounded the tocsin of war, and every nerve is to be strained to thwart, if not defeat, the Ministerial measure, even at the risk of a change of Government. The *Freeman* denounces, in unmeasured terms, the conduct of those Irish representatives who, by their votes in the late division, have placed "the sword of persecution" more firmly in the gripe of the political apostate, "who is now Premier of England by the vote of Irish Catholics and representatives of Irish constituencies." Numerous parish meetings to protest against the bill have been held in Dublin, and in the country after Sunday mass; and preparations are in progress for demonstrations on a wholesale scale. Limerick is already in the field, with a requisition, signed by the principal Roman Catholic inhabitants of that city, for convening a public meeting. The *Tablet*, in an article occupying no less than ten columns, headed, "The Whig Conspiracy Unmasked," openly counsels resistance to the Government bill in the event of its becoming law. The same journal has the daring statement in reference to the decree of the Synod of Thurles and the proposed legislation against the Papal assault:—

We have it on the very best authority, that letters have been received in Rome from Lord Clarendon, and communicated to the Holy Father, to the effect, that the proposed penal legislation would be abandoned if the Holy See would undertake to withhold its sanction from the statutes passed at the recent Synod. We are assured he [Lord Clarendon] wrote the letter we have described, as that he lives. Our readers will thus understand plainly, that the penal law is a measure of coercion against the Pope, the Primate, the Archbishop of Cashel, and the Archbishop of Tuam, to compel them to surrender their views, and those of the Church; as to the protection of the faith and morals of the people, and to adopt, instead, the views of Archbishop Murray and the "minority of 13."

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC BISHOPS AND THE GOVERNMENT MEASURE.—The Dublin *Daily Express* gives the following communication from "a Roman Catholic correspondent," who "professes to be informed of the deliberations of the hierarchy and priesthood of the Romish Church in England and Ireland:—

Although it would appear that the Roman Catholic hierarchy and priesthood of this and the sister country are mere silent passive spectators of the excitement created in Protestant England by the late appointments of the Court of Rome, the contrary is the fact. They have had their meetings, their consultations, and their discussions upon the all-absorbing question in this country and in Ireland, and the resolutions adopted at those meetings have resulted in one common resolve—to stand or fall by the late Papal appointments, despite the threats and terrors of penal acts. Hence, although we may not behold the Roman Catholic bishops going to the Tower, we assuredly shall see them conducted to Newgate, should the Government pass a measure rendering their bearing titles a punishable offence. With that resolve is connected the visit at this moment, to London, of Archbishop M'Hale. They have great reliance upon the interference of foreign Roman Catholic powers, who have already expressed the deepest sympathy for them; and they are equally confident of the support of a large number of liberal Protestants throughout Europe. They are, therefore, no way daunted by the hostile proceedings with which they are threatened, feeling a strong conviction that no penal enactment can stand long against them. I can further state, on the very best authority, that the Roman Catholic prelates and priesthood have unanimously resolved that their resistance shall be purely passive, and that they will oppose with all their influence any attempt at a physical demonstration or a popular ebullition in their favour. I am also enabled to add, that their proposed course of action has received the approval of the Court of Rome.

DR. M'HALE, ARCHBISHOP OF TUAM, has addressed to Lord John Russell a letter that needed neither superscription nor signature to indicate its author. Heading his epistle with the "Proverb,"—"A man that beareth false witness against his neighbour is like a dart and a sword and a sharp arrow," he paints the wretched physical condition of Ireland, and asks Lord John whether this is not "a care sufficiently weighty for the shoulders of the most robust Minister, without burdening himself with a superfluous solicitude for the spiritual requirements of the Catholic portion of the people?" "As long as your lordship," he is told, "neglects this sound and necessary legislation, your surprise at the growth of Popery in England is unnatural, for it is springing from the neglected sufferings of Ireland, and is, therefore, in a great measure, the work of your own hands." The address of the synod of Thurles was not carried by a majority of one, but unanimously—a statement which is also made and signed by three of the officiating members of the synod.

REPORTED ABOLITION OF THE OFFICE OF LORD CHANCELLOR.—In the hall of the Four Courts a sensation has been caused by a report that a measure is in contemplation for abolishing the office of Irish Chancellor, appointing the present Chancellor (the Right Hon. Maziere Brady) to the office of Vice-Chancellor, and giving to suitors the right of appeal to the Court of Chancery in England, in the first instance, with ultimate appeal, as at present, to the House of Lords. *Saunders's News Letter* states that "a design is said to be now in embryo to consolidate the business in the offices of the law courts, with a view, in the end, to have only one court instead of three; and one of the preliminary steps is to have a single master, instead of an officer acting in the Queen's Bench, and others in the Common Pleas and Exchequer, as at present." Sharman Crawford

has addressed a letter to Lord Massarene on this tendency to centralization.

FLAX CULTIVATION.—It is stated, that the Government has determined upon the appointment of competent persons to make inquiry respecting the various processes for the steeping and preparation of flax, with the view of affording accurate information to the numerous landowners and farmers about to engage in this branch of husbandry in this country.

UNCONDITIONAL REPEAL OF THE WINDOW-DUTY.

A great meeting of the inhabitants of Westminster was held on Wednesday, in Drury-lane Theatre, to support the unconditional repeal of the window-tax. Viscount Duncan, M.P., presided. There was a very numerous attendance, including Lord D. Stuart, Sir de Lacy Evans, Sir B. Hall, Mr. C. Lushington, Mr. Wakley, Mr. J. Williams, Mr. W. Williams, Mr. Mowatt, &c. Lord Duncan said he had again this year put his motion upon the paper of the House of Commons, and unless previously the Chancellor of the Exchequer should have conceded their demands, he should again urge upon the House the necessity of a total and unconditional repeal of this tax. The Chancellor said very little to the deputation; and he trusted that, in this case, silence might be interpreted as consent [cheers]. It had been whispered (he did not know upon what authority) that, when other parties had gone upon the same business, it had been answered in Downing-street, "Why do you wish a House-tax?" They wanted nothing of the kind; they wanted the total and unconditional repeal of the most obnoxious tax that had ever been raised in this country [cheers]. There was now in the exchequer a surplus of two millions and a half, and this tax amounted only to £1,700,000. What had placed them in this happy situation, with a surplus revenue? Was it not those free-trade measures of which they had heard so much [cheers and hisses.] We had a Government supporting free-trade principles; and therefore the people had a right to demand at their hands free trade in light and air [loud cheers]. This demand they would make, and he hoped the day was not far distant when every Englishman might, if he was so minded, be able to raise a crystal palace for himself [cheers].

The following was the first resolution:—

That the window-duty is a tax upon light and air; that it is unequal, unjust, and detrimental to health and comfort; that it is opposed to sanitary reform and architectural improvements; and that it is a mode of levying taxation that never ought to have been adopted, and in the opinion of this meeting, should no longer continue.

Amongst those who spoke to it were Sir de Lacy Evans, Mr. Lushington, Lord D. Stuart, and Sir B. Hall. On the question of stopping the supplies in the event of an unconditional repeal being refused, Sir de Lacy Evans said he had never yet seen the attempt to stop the supplies successful, but still he was prepared to obey the wishes of his constituents upon that subject, and to pursue that course if necessary, being one which he believed to be perfectly legal and constitutional. Mr. Lushington was satisfied that they should have no necessity to talk of obstructing the supplies. The tax was doomed, and he would almost stake his existence that the Chancellor would announce its entire and uncompromised repeal. Failing that, he should join with his friends in stopping the supplies. The second resolution was as follows:—

That this meeting pledges itself to use every legitimate means to cause the removal of this obnoxious tax from the statute-book, and earnestly appeals to all members of Parliament, in the event of the Government refusing its total, immediate, and unconditional repeal, to offer such constitutional opposition to the passing of the supplies as will show that the present Ministers no longer possess the confidence of the people.

Mr. Wakley, in speaking to it, said he believed that in a few days he should have to hold an inquest upon this tax; and he was convinced, if he did so, that he should behold the most monstrous, the ugliest, the vilest, and the most infamous corpse that it had ever fallen to the lot of coroner to sit upon [cheers and laughter].

The inhabitants of Finsbury have held a similar meeting at Freemason's Hall.

THE HUNGARIAN REFUGEES.—The Mayor of Southampton has received the following gratifying communication from the Secretary of State:—

Sir,—I am directed by Secretary Sir George Grey to inform you, that it appears, from a despatch received by Lord Palmerston from Sir Stratford Canning, that sixty-six Hungarian refugees will be embarked at Constantinople, for England, in the steam-vessel which will leave that port for Southampton about the 19th instant, and that the Porte is stated to have supplied these Hungarians with money to defray the expenses of their passage, and to provide for their personal wants on their first arrival in England.

FATHER GAVAZZI appears to intend organizing a church in London. At the close of his lecture last Sunday,—which was on "the infallible supremacy of the Roman Bishop"—he broke forth, says the *Daily News*, "into a strain of highly devotional eloquence, and the visible emotion in the crowd responsive to his effort to evoke a deep and solemn recognition of belief in a Redeemer and the great atonement on Calvary gave convincing proof of the vivifying influence he can exercise over the minds and hearts of his countrymen." The father announced his intention of preaching among his countrymen on Wednesday.

ABOLITION OF DEATH PUNISHMENTS.—Mr. Gilpin and Mr. T. Beggs have held crowded meetings in support of Mr. Ewart's forthcoming motion, at Plymouth and Devon. The mayors of those towns were in the chair, and the leading inhabitants on the platform. A similar meeting is to be held in Exeter this evening.

FOREIGN AND COLONIAL NEWS.

FRANCE.

Our readers are aware that the Dotation Bill was rejected by the Assembly, and that President Louis Napoleon had officially declined the proposed national subscription. The Assembly has since then re-chosen his adherents, Leon Faucher and Daru, as two of its four vice-presidents; which some would regard as a symptom of relaxation in opposition to the President. The popularity of the latter has been undoubtedly increased by the hostile manifestations of the Assembly, and he has had to repeat, with more decided tone, his refusal of a national pecuniary testimonial. Now it is proposed to purchase for him the palace and grounds of Malmaison—naturally dear to him from their associations with his family—which are the property of Queen Christina of Spain. Meanwhile, as if intent upon economy and independence, he is selling many of his finest horses, discharging servants, and discontinuing entertainments. He is also appealing to the sympathies of the working classes by the presentation, through his plaitic "Ministry of transition," of measures for their amelioration—not displeased, perhaps, that they are stigmatised, by anticipation, as socialistic. The Cabinet have also in contemplation, it is understood, the release of Proudhon, and other political prisoners.

The assembly has been engaged, formally, in the discussion of the law of mortgages; but the current of political interest has been diverted to the affairs of central Europe. The Government has protested a second time against the absorption of Austria's Italian provinces into the Germanic Confederation. The French people, too, look with indignant astonishment at the progress which they have permitted by their intestine quarrels, and even aided by armed interference, the old despotisms of Europe to gain upon them. They see Austria, their ancient and half-hated, half-despised foe, triumphant in Italy and to the Rhine; and they turn their eyes naturally to the government of a Napoleon and the symbols of a republic.

GERMANY.

The leading parties to the Dresden Conference have come, as intimated above, to a resolution disastrous to the peace of Europe—namely, to admit Hungary and the Italian provinces of Austria into the Germanic Bund; thereby providing for the suppression of any democratic movement in either quarter, by the whole force of the Confederation, including the free towns and northern states. To this, it appears, Prussia and the minor powers have been induced to accede by the establishment of a dual presidency, and the maintenance of the scale of votes as before. That Russia should lend her influence was, of course, expected. Lord Palmerston is said to have sent a very strong note on the subject to both Vienna and Berlin as early as on the 3rd of December last, to the effect that, as the Confederation was the work of a European congress, it could not be subject to any re-organization or alteration without the co-operation and consent of all the powers who were parties to its formation. Thus both France and England are pledged to the resistance of the scheme. Meanwhile, Austria and Prussia are establishing a military line from Radstadt to Dusseldorf, of which the central points are Frankfurt and Mayence, in order to make it a matter of indifference what decision the Dresden Conference may come to about the constitution of a Central Power. Rendsburg is dismantled, and Fredericstadt restored to the Danes.

The Prussian Chambers have rejected by 71 to 41 a motion by M. Arnim on the state of Schleswig-Holstein; which seems indeed to demand protection from the tyranny of the new police functionaries—the suspected, that is, those of known attachment to the defeated cause, being unceremoniously seized, and fined or imprisoned. The opposition have, however, triumphed, by carrying a retrospective condemnation of the income-tax.

The poor Hessians are subjected to a new affliction. Count Leiningen having inquired of the War Minister if the troops could be relied upon to execute the will of the Diet, the minister demanded of every officer the signature of a paper within 24 hours, signifying his full willingness or unwillingness to obey unconditionally his superiors, and to acknowledge the unconstitutional ordinance of September. This demand has filled the whole city with indignation. The officers who formerly solicited but did not obtain their dismissal are driven almost to despair, in the fear that they may not be able to support this new trial; for during the short interval that is allowed them to decide, they are not able to consult together.

ITALY.

That the French General Gemoau has proposed to place Rome in a state of siege is significant enough of the security felt by the Pope. One of his recent military appointments is that of Count de Bermord, who actually served under Napoleon the Great in taking possession of the sacred estates half a century since! The anniversary of the Republic has been celebrated by the people in spite of soldiers and police.

Austria continues to concentrate troops upon Lombardy, and threatens intervention in Switzerland, should refugees be permitted to reside there, or the Radicalism of the Cantons become too strong for their rulers. To counteract these manifestations France augments her Italian army of occupation. The Sardinian Minister, Siccaldi, has retired—a bad omen for the Liberal cause in Piedmont.

After nearly two years' imprisonment and eight months' trial, the Neapolitan political prisoners accused of high treason, as belonging to the "Unita

Italiana," have received the final sentence of their judges. The bench was occupied a whole night in considering the sentences, which were as follows:—Settembrini, Agresti, and Fancitano, death; the ex-minister, Carlo Baron Poerio, twenty-four years' galleys; eighteen, the galleys for periods from twenty to thirty years; four, one year's imprisonment; one, 500 ducats fine; five acquitted; finally, Borella and Mazza, solitary confinement in irons for life. The publication of the sentences created an intense sensation throughout the city. The foreign representatives—especially Mr. Temple, the English envoy—joined with the lawyers and inhabitants in intercession for those condemned to death, and ultimately prevailed.

THE EAST INDIES.

The overland mail brings very little intelligence, but is followed by a telegraphic communication of great importance—that the Sublime Porte has made categorical demands on the Viceroy of Egypt with which he has refused to comply. Instead of reducing his army to 20,000 men, the Viceroy has ordered new levies of 40,000 men for the land, and 15,000 men for the sea force; and will resist the pretensions of the Sultan, if necessary, with arms. This Viceroy, Abbas Pasha, like his famous predecessor, treats Englishmen with marked respect, and is anxious to maintain the transit in efficiency.

The Governor-General (Lord Dalhousie) has held an interview with the Maharajah Ghoolab Singh, with all the accompaniments of Oriental and European splendour. The Company's government are understood to be about to annex the valley of Berar—the finest cotton district in India; the Nizam being unable to rule his refractory subjects, or make that portion of his territory profitable. An American has been murdered in his bed at Calcutta by four seamen, his countrymen, who have been apprehended.

Sickness still prevails among the troops stationed at Hong Kong. The famous Commissioner Lin is said to have died. Lord Palmerston has interfered with the Canton authorities for putting a duty on tea, contrary to treaty. Two Swedish missionaries at Foochow, returning from a vessel, were attacked by pirates. One (Mr. Fast) was killed, and the other severely wounded. The Chinese authorities were very prompt in discovering the perpetrators and inflicting punishment.

CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

Papers up to the 14th of December, bring intelligence of increased alarm from the Kaffirs. The troops are being removed to the frontiers, and the farmers enrolling and preparing to march. Private correspondence speaks of an entire stagnation of business at Graham's Town; and the *Frontier Times* describes extensive "trekking," or flitting, on the part of residents who were more concerned in the last war than they liked.

The districts immediately on the border are being fast denuded of inhabitants, who are removing their families and stock to a place of security. The country in some parts is said to be covered with sheep that are unable, from fatigue and exhaustion, to keep pace with the flocks. In some places, we are informed, that as soon as a flock has made its appearance on a farm, the proprietor assembles his people and causes the animals to be driven to the next farm, from which they are driven in the same manner. The losses incurred by this removal of stock will be immense.

Jonker Afrikaner, the dreaded Namaqua chief, has committed some atrocious murders at New Barman, in Damaraland. Mr. and Mrs. Kolbe, missionaries of the Rhenish society, narrowly escaped.

AMERICA.

The United States steam-ship "Arctic" arrived on Sunday night, but brings little Congressional intelligence.

The Constitutional Convention of Indiana has resolved to exclude negroes and mulattoes from hereafter settling in that state; that all contracts with such persons shall be void; that any one employing them, or encouraging them to remain in the state, shall be liable to a fine of from 10 to 500 dollars; and that such fines shall be applied towards the gradual colonization of the negroes now in the state. The article will have to be submitted to a separate vote of the people.

Sir H. Bulwer had addressed a letter to Mr. Webster on the Mosquito and Nicaraguan difficulties, which had been referred to the Foreign Committee. Mr. Chatfield was said to have been recalled. The port of San Juan is now free to all nations.

The total representative population of the United States (composed of all the "free persons" and three-fifths of "all other persons") is now expected to range from 22,000,000 to 23,300,000.

The frigate "St. Lawrence," with articles for the Exhibition, was nearly ready for sea, having taken on board nearly all the contributions, numbering about 500.

The steamer "John Adams" struck a snag in the Mississippi, and 123 lives were lost. She had about ninety or one hundred deck passengers, a few of whom only were saved. The ladies in the cabin, after suffering many hours in the water, were all enabled to get ashore.

Buenos Ayres is settling its difficulties with Brazil, and recovering from the disasters of its long war.

Accounts from Canada report that Lord Elgin had stated that the seat of Government would undoubtedly be removed to Quebec after the completion of its two years in Toronto. He had received a despatch from the Colonial Secretary, authorizing the admission of American reprints of English copyright works at 20 per cent. duty; the duties collected to be paid over to the proprietors of the

copyrights, who are required to furnish the revenue officers with a list of their works. The new common school law, providing for the establishment of separate schools for Roman Catholics, had created some disturbance in Upper Canada. In Toronto, Bishop Charbonnel had had recourse to legal measures to enforce the application of the law; and the excitement had been so great in certain quarters as to lead to acts of violence.

FOREIGN MISCELLANY.

A banquet has been given to M. de Lamartine by the editors of his works.

M. Wayssé, the French Minister of the Interior, has just interdicted the representation at the theatre of the Porte St. Martin of a comedy, the objectionable nature of which may be conceived from its title, "Mr. Pritchard."

The marriage of the Grand Duchess of Russia, Catherine Mikailowna, with Duke George of Mecklenbourg-Schwerin, was celebrated at St. Petersburg on the 2nd inst.

Maxim's revolutionary committee is displaying the greatest activity, and subscriptions continue to pour in from all parts of the Italian peninsula.

Certain papers which have been seized in the south of France, in the possession of men who were parties to the Lyons riot, have led to the discovery of a conspiracy, of which it is said to be the ostensible object to assassinate the Pope and the King of the Two Sicilies.

The Queen of Portugal gave birth on the 5th inst. to a princess, which lived but a few hours.

The Spanish ministry have made arrangements for adjustment of the foreign debt—the leading Spanish journal says "without money."

Mr. Sheil has presented to the Grand Duke of Tuscany his credentials as Minister Plenipotentiary of England at that court.

The Sardinian Government have granted to the exhibitors for the approaching Exposition, the royal war steamer "Governolo," for the conveyance of the objects of Sardinian produce and industry to be exhibited.

A horrible scene is described as having taken place lately at Ystad, in Sweden, at the execution of a man and woman. Crowds of peasants, of both sexes, pressed round the scaffold and followed the cart, to catch the blood falling from the headless trunks, believing it a cure for all maladies. There had not been an execution for sixty years.

The Hon. E. Everett, United States senator, died at Windsor, Vermont, on the 29th ult., at the age of 72.

PARLIAMENTARY DIVISIONS.

MINORITY ON THE ECCLESIASTICAL TITLES ASSUMPTION BILL.

Anstey, T. C.	Higgins, G. G. O.	Reynolds, J.
Arundel and Surrey	Hobhouse, T. B.	Sadler, J.
Earl of	Hope, A.	Scholefield, W.
Blake, M. T.	Howard, P. H.	Scully, F.
Blewitt, R. J.	Hutchins, E. J.	Simeon, J.
Bright, J.	Keating, R.	Smith, J. B.
Butler, P. S.	Keogh, W.	Smythe, Hon. G.
Clements, Hon. C. S.	Lawless, Hon. C.	Somers, J. P.
Cobden, R.	McCullagh, W. T.	Stuart, Lord D.
Corbally, M. E.	Magan, W. H.	Sullivan, M.
Devereux, J. T.	Meagher, T.	Talbot, J. H.
Fagan, W.	Mahon, The O'Gorm.	Tancred, H. W.
Fagan, J.	Monsell, W.	Tenison, E. K.
Fortescue, C.	O'Brien, Sir T.	Towneley, J.
Fox, R. M.	O'Connell, J.	Trelawny, J. S.
Fox, W. J.	O'Connell, M.	Wall, C. B.
Gibson, Rt. Hon. T. M.	O'Connell, M. J.	Walmaley, Sir J.
Goold, W.	O'Connor, F.	Wegg-Prosser, F. R.
Grace, O. D. J.	O'Flaherty, A.	
Grattan, H.	Oswald, A.	Tellers.
Greene, J.	Pechell, Sir G. B.	Roche, E. B.
Henry, A.	Power, Dr.	Moore, G. H.
Heyworth, L.	Power, N.	

The following Dissenting or Radical members voted in the majority:—J. Brotherton, Sir B. Hall, C. Hindley, Ald. Humphrey, Sir W. Molesworth, J. McGregor, S. M. Peto, Col. Thompson, T. Wakley, J. Wyld.

ANALYSIS OF THE DIVISION ON MR. DISRAELI'S MOTION.

Irish Radical members who voted for the motion—Wyndham Goold, J. T. Devereux, Col. Dunne, J. Fagan, O. D. J. Grace, Henry Grattan, R. Keating, Hon. C. Lawless, T. McCullagh, J. Meagher, W. Monsell, G. H. Moore, T. O'Brien, Anthony O'Flaherty, N. Power, J. Reynolds, E. B. Roche, J. Sadler, F. Scully, M. Sullivan, W. Keogh.

Liberals who voted for the motion—T. Alcock, Viscount Anson, Humphrey Brown, W. M. Bunbury, W. J. Chaplin, H. C. Laoy, T. B. Lennard, Earl of Euston, G. F. Munz, Feargus O'Connor, and J. Simeon.

Peelites, or Free-trade Conservatives, who voted for the motion—S. Christy, Hon. R. H. Clive, A. D. Cochrane, T. S. Cooke, Hon. H. L. Corry, W. Cubitt, Hon. Colonel Damer, Henry Drummond, Lord C. Hamilton, H. T. Hope, Sir J. Johnstone, G. C. Legh, Sir E. MacNaghten, Colonel Peel, Colonel Reid, G. Sanders, Alderman Sidney, J. G. Smyth, H. Stuart, and Sir H. Willoughby.

Members who voted for the motion this year and against it last year—W. J. Chaplin, J. T. Devereux, H. T. Hope, W. Keogh, W. T. McCullagh, G. T. Munz, Sir T. O'Brien, Nicholas Power, David Pugh, J. Reynolds, and Francis Scully.

Members who voted for this motion this year, and did not vote at all last year:—C. B. Adderley, Charles Baldwin, Viscount Bernard, Thomas Booker, Sir R. G. Booth, Sir A. Brooke, Humphrey Brown, Col. Bruen, Alex. D. Cochrane, Hon. Col. Damer, D. A. S. Davies, W. Deedes, Sir J. T. Duckworth, Hon. O. Duncombe, G. Dundas, H. Edwards, Viscount Emlyn, James Fagan, Wyndham Goold, Marquis of Granby, G. Greenall, G. J. Heathcote, W. B. Hughes, W. N. Hodgson, R. Keating, Hon. C. Lawless, G. H. Moore, Sir Lucius O'Brien, A. Oswald, Col. Peel, Col. Powell, Lord W. Powlett, E. B. Roche, Viscount Seaham, Alderman Thompson, Loftus Wigram, and Herbert W. Wynn.

Peelites, or Free-trade Conservatives, who voted for Government:—Admiral J. Boyd, Lord E. Bruce, E. H. Bunbury, E. Cardwell, Sir G. Clerk, Alderman Copeland, E. Denison, Marquis of Douro, J. Duncuft, J. B. B. Estcourt, Hon. H. Fitzroy, Sir J. Graham, Sir J. Hamner, Right Hon. Sidney Herbert, Lord A. Hervey, Sir J. W. Hogg, Earl Jermyn, Sir C. Lemon, A. E. Lockhart, W. A. Mackinnon, Sir J. M. Taggart, C. W. Martin, J. Masterman, Lord Norreys, Sir J. Owen, J. Sanders, W. Wrightson, Sir J. Young.

ECCLESIASTICAL TITLES ASSUMPTION BILL.

The following is the text of the "Bill to prevent the assumption of certain ecclesiastical titles in respect of places in the United Kingdom:"—

[Note.—The words printed in *italics* are proposed to be inserted in committee.]

Whereas, by the act of the 10th year of King George IV., c. 7, after reciting that the Protestant Episcopal Church of England and Ireland, and the doctrine, discipline, and government thereof, and likewise the Protestant Presbyterian Church of Scotland, and the doctrine, discipline, and government thereof, were by the respective acts of union of England and Scotland, and of Great Britain and Ireland, established permanently and inviolably, and that the right and title of archbishops to their respective provinces, of bishops to their sees, and of deans to their deaneries, as well in England as in Ireland, had been settled and established by law, it was enacted that if any person after the commencement of that act, other than the person thereunto authorized by law, should assume or use the name, style, or title of archbishop of any province, bishop of any bishopric, or dean of any deanery, in England or Ireland, he should for every such offence forfeit and pay the sum of £100: and whereas it may be doubted whether the recited enactment extends to the assumption of the title of archbishop or bishop of a pretended province or diocese, or archbishop or bishop of a city, place, or territory in England or Ireland, not being the see, province, or diocese, of any archbishop or bishop recognised by law; but the attempt to establish, under colour of authority from the see of Rome or otherwise, such pretended sees, provinces, or dioceses, is illegal and void, and the assumption of ecclesiastical titles in respect thereof, is inconsistent with the rights intended to be protected by the said enactment; and whereas it is expedient to prohibit the assumption of such titles in respect of any places within the United Kingdom; be it enacted, therefore, by the Queen's most excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that—

I. If, after the passing of this act, any person, other than a persons thereunto authorized by law, in respect of an archbishopric, bishopric, or deanery of the united Church of England and Ireland, assume or use the name, style, or title of archbishop, bishop, or dean of any city, town, or place, or of any territory or district (under any designation or description whatsoever) in the United Kingdom, whether such city, town, or place, or such territory or district, be or be not the see or the province, or coextensive with the province, of any archbishop, or the see or the diocese, or coextensive with the diocese, of any bishop, or the seat or place of the church of any dean, or coextensive with any deanery of the said united church, the person so offending shall, for every such offence, forfeit and pay the sum of *one hundred pounds*, to be recovered as provided by the recited act.

II. Any deed or writing made, signed, or executed after the passing of this act, by or under the authority of any person, in or under any name, style, or title, which such person is by the recited act and this act, or either of them, prohibited from assuming or using, shall be void.

III. Where by an assurance, transfer, will, limitation, or declaration of use or trust, or other instrument, made or executed after the passing of this act, any real or personal property, or any profit or advantage to be had therefrom, is assured, given, or made applicable, or expressed or intended to be assured, given, or made applicable, directly or indirectly, for or towards the endowment or maintenance of any archbishopric, bishopric, or deanery entitled or in anywise designated or described as an archbishopric, bishopric, or deanery of any city, town, or place, territory or district, in the United Kingdom (except the archbishoprics, bishoprics, and deaneries of the said united church), or for any purposes connected with or referring to the maintenance or continuance of any archbishopric, bishopric, or deanery (except as aforesaid) so entitled, designated, or described, or of the titular province, see, diocese, or limits thereof, or where by any such assurance, transfer, will, limitation, declaration, or other instrument, any real or personal property, profit, or advantage, or any power, authority, or discretion (whether for private or personal benefit, or for charitable or other purposes) to be exercised over or in relation to any real or personal property, or such profit or advantage as aforesaid, is assured, given or vested, or expressed, or intended to be assured, given, or vested, to or in any person by any name, style, or title, of archbishop, bishop, or dean, which by the recited act and this act, or either of them, such person is prohibited from assuming or using, or to or in any person who in such assurance, transfer, will, limitation, declaration, or other instrument is in anywise designated, mentioned, or referred to, as being or claiming to be, or as being called, or known or reputed to be, archbishop, bishop, or dean, under any name, style, or title which such person is so prohibited from assuming or using, or to or in any other person therein described as chaplain or other subordinate of the person so designated, mentioned, or referred to, or to or in any person in anywise described by means of a reference to a name, style, or title, of which, by the said act and this act, or either of them, the assumption or use is prohibited, all the real or personal property, profit, or advantage aforesaid, or such estate or interest therein, as but for this enactment would have been in anywise applicable to any of the purposes aforesaid, or would have vested in or enured to the use of the person to or in whom the same is so expressed or intended to be assured, given, or vested, shall, without any office or inquisition found, vest in and enure to the use of her Majesty, and shall and may be disposed of and applied as her Majesty shall be pleased by warrant under her sign manual to direct, whether such direction be to apply the same according and pursuant to the intents and purposes declared in and by the instruments hereinbefore mentioned or otherwise; and all such power, authority, and discretion, as aforesaid, so far as the same but for this enactment might have been exercised by the person in whom the same is so expressed or intended to be invested, may be exercised by such persons and in such manner as her Majesty may be pleased by warrant under her sign manual to direct.

IV. Every person who may be liable to be sued for any penalty

imposed by the recited enactment and this act, or either of them, shall in any suit or proceeding in equity in relation to any such assurance, transfer, will, limitation, declaration of use or trust, or other instrument as hereinbefore mentioned, or in relation to any secret or other trust, or other matter whatsoever, be compellable to answer upon oath, notwithstanding his liability to such penalty, in the same manner as if no such liability existed; provided that no answer of such person in any such suit or proceeding as aforesaid, nor any matter disclosed or made known only by means of such answer, shall be admitted as evidence against such person in any action for the recovery of such penalty.

COURT, OFFICIAL, AND PERSONAL NEWS.

THE QUEEN AND COURT have returned to Buckingham Palace for the season. Yesterday week her Majesty received, at Windsor Castle, two addresses—one from a deputation of "Ministers of the Three Denominations;" and the other, from four hundred thousand English Roman Catholics. On the former deputation were Drs. Steane, and Hoppus, and the Revs. R. Littler, E. Mannering, J. J. Freeman, W. Groser, G. W. Fishbourne, J. Viney, W. Brock, J. C. Gallaway, A.M., W. A. Blake, C. Dukes, A.M., J. Rothery, R. Redpath, A.M., S. B. Bergne, J. Stoughton, G. Smith, and I. M. Soule. Their address was expressive of a conviction that we are indebted, under God, for our national prosperity and greatness, and especially for our civil and religious liberty, to the principles which placed the House of Brunswick on the throne, and was received by her Majesty with the assurance of "much satisfaction." A déjeuner was served in the Castle to the rev. gentlemen, and to the Ministers and Officers of State present. The Roman Catholic address was presented by Lords Lovat, Vaux, and Dormor; and, after a fervent assurance of faithful loyalty, proceeded:—

The dearest of the privileges to which we have been admitted by the wisdom of the British Legislature is that of openly professing and practising the religion of our fathers, in communion with the See of Rome. Under its teaching we have ever learnt, as a most sacred lesson, to give to Caesar the things that are of Caesar, as we give to God the things that are of God. In whatever, therefore, our Church has at any time done for establishing its regular system of government among its members in this island, we beg most fervently and most sincerely to assure your Majesty that the organization granted to us is entirely ecclesiastical and its authority purely spiritual; that it leaves untouched every title of your Majesty's rights, authority, power, jurisdiction, and prerogative, as our Sovereign and as Sovereign over these realms, and does not in the least wise diminish or impair our profound reverence, our loyalty, fidelity, and attachment to your Majesty's august person and throne. And we humbly assure your Majesty that among your Majesty's subjects there exists no class who more solemnly, more continually, or more fervently pray for the stability of your Majesty's throne, for the preservation of your Majesty's life, and for the prosperity of your Majesty's empire, than the Catholics of England, in whose religion loyalty is a sacred duty, and obedience a Christian virtue.

THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE has had an audience of the Queen, and delivered to her Majesty the ensigns of the most noble Order of the Garter worn by his father, the late Duke of Newcastle.

THE FOLLOWING CHAPLAINS IN ORDINARY to her Majesty have just been appointed:—The Rev. Charles Baring, the Rev. Dr. James Cartmell, and the Rev. Dr. Charles John Vaughan.

DEPUTATIONS from different classes of tax-payers continue to assail the Chancellor of the Exchequer. A delegation from the paper manufacturers, stationers, and printers of Ireland, consisting of Mr. Grogan, M.P., Mr. Reynolds, M.P., Mr. Cameron, Mr. Webb, and Mr. Baron, secretary to the society, had an interview on Wednesday; and the same day Mr. Borthwick presented memorials from twenty-five places, signed by 3,428 householders, praying for the repeal of the paper-duty.

LORD BEXLEY died on the 8th inst., at his country seat, Footscray-place, Kent, aged eighty-five. The deceased, Nicholas Vansittart, D.C.L., F.R.S., and F.S.A., was the son of H. Vansittart, Governor of Bengal, by the daughter of N. Morse, Esq., Governor of Madras. He was born in 1766, graduated at Christ Church, Oxford, became a bencher of Lincoln's-inn, and was appointed Minister-Plenipotentiary to Denmark, in 1801. In 1804, he was made a Lord of the Treasury in Ireland; and, after acting for some time as Chief Secretary for that branch of the United Kingdom, was elevated to the post of Chancellor of the Exchequer, which office he filled for eleven years. Upon his resignation in 1823, he was raised to the peerage and appointed Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, which office he filled until the year 1828. His lordship married, in 1806, the daughter of the second Lord Auckland, who died in 1810, and having no issue, the title becomes extinct. By the demise of the noble lord, a pension of £3,000 per annum lapses.

MARY WOLLSTONCRAFT, the daughter of Godwin, widow of Percy Bysshe Shelley, mother of the present Sir Percy Bysshe Shelley, Bart., and authoress of "Frankenstein," died on the 1st inst., at her residence in Chester-square, at the age of fifty-three. Her demise was noticed in our last among recent "deaths;" but the removal of so celebrated a woman demands more prominent record.

JOHN JAMES AUDUBON, the deservedly renowned naturalist, died in New York on the 27th of January, at his residence on the banks of the Hudson river, in 155th street. He had arrived at the age of seventy-six, and has left a name distinguished among the scientific of every nation.

M. CHARLES COQUEL, brother of the well-known

minister of the French Protestant Church, has also been removed by death. He was the author of several works, some of which are likely to survive him. Among the latter may be mentioned a "Histoire des Eglises du Désert, ou des Eglises Protestantes de France, depuis la Révocation de l'Edit de Nantes, jusque sous Louis XVI." In this book he introduces the substance of a mass of private and official correspondence from Louis XIV.'s time down to the Revolution, relative to Protestantism in France, and the numberless and atrocious persecutions to which it was subjected. The *Literary Gazette* states, that many of the papers he obtained are of great literary and historical value, and he has taken measures for their preservation. He was also distinguished for scientific attainments, and for some time contributed articles on the sittings of the Académie des Sciences, and on science generally, to one of the newspapers. He took special interest in M. Arago's recent experiments and treatises on light, and was occupied with them almost up to the day of his death.

LAW, POLICE, ASSIZE, &c.

THE CASE OF THE BIRDS.—In the Exchequer Chamber, on Wednesday, the question was decided, whether, upon the first trial for murder, the Birds could legally have been convicted of an assault; it being conceded, that if they could have been so convicted under that indictment, they could not again have been tried for the same assaults. The conviction of the prisoners was affirmed by seven of the judges, against six for acquittal. The Chief-Justice Campbell, Mr. Justice Maule, Barons Parke, Alderson, and Martin, and the Chief-Justice Jervis, voted with the minority. The majority consisted of the Chief-Baron Pollock; of the Judges Patteson, Erle, Wightman, Coleridge; and of the Justices Talfourd and Williams. The result of the decision is, that the judgment, which was respited, will be pronounced upon the defendants at the next assizes for the county of Devon.

THREATENING THE PREMIER.—At Bow-street Police-court, on Friday, Charles Gill was charged with writing an abusive and threatening letter to Lord John Russell. Gill is an ingenious working jeweller, who deems that he has made great discoveries "in the material laws in leverage and gravitation." A commission to test the value of his discoveries was not granted; hence the threat to beat and shoot the Premier. In default of giving bail, he was locked up.

THE POOR MAN'S CHURCH.—A wretched-looking old woman named Ferguson, was brought before Mr. Yardley, at the Thames Police Court, yesterday week, charged with non-payment of rates, due to parish of "Holy Trinity, Minorities." She had been struggling hard to maintain herself without parochial relief, and by enforcing payment of the various sums due they might make a pauper of her, and cause her to become a burden upon them. The rates consisted of a church-rate, a poor-rate, and a pavement-rate, and amounted in all to £4 15s. 7d. The collector insisting that the woman should be made to pay, Mr. Yardley ordered the sum to be taken from the poor-box, expressing a hope, at the same time, that the fact would be known.

DREADFUL TRAGEDY AT COLCHESTER.—On Thursday, George Ponder and Charlotte Parmenter, who for a long time past have lived together, were discovered dead in their bed-room, under circumstances which lead to the belief that the man has committed the double crime of murder and suicide. It is supposed that Ponder killed the female while sleeping, and then hung himself. The wretched creatures, it is believed, were in a state of great destitution.

THE POOR-LAW BOARD has written to the directors of the poor of St. Pancras respecting the late deportation of pauper children to the Bermudas, warning them against any similar transgression of the law. They accept the explanation of the directors, and express their belief that the future position in life of the children will be greatly ameliorated; but they remark that the proceedings were not in accordance with the rules and regulations laid down by the Board.

SUICIDE OF A DISSENTING MINISTER.—An inquest was held on Friday last at Kidwelly on the body of the Rev. William Davies, generally known as Mr. Davies of Africa, from the circumstance of his having many years ago been engaged as a missionary at Sierra Leone, in connexion with the Wesleyan Missionary Society. It appeared by the evidence adduced at the inquiry that for seven years the deceased had been subject to occasional periods of great mental excitement, but during the last four months of his life he became exceedingly depressed. It was likewise stated that his last marriage was a very infelicitous one. A verdict was returned to the effect that deceased committed suicide by hanging himself, he being at the time insane.—*Swansea Herald.*

MR. FOX, M.P., AT OLDHAM.—The annual visit of Mr. W. J. Fox to his constituents at Oldham, on Wednesday evening, was seized as a fitting occasion for inviting a deputation from the National Parliamentary Reform Association; and the consequence was a most signal demonstration of the hearty approval in which the movement is held in that great manufacturing community. The meeting was held in the Working Men's Hall, and was preceded by a tea-party, at which 750 persons paid for admission. The number present afterwards, however, was not less than 2,500 or 3,000. Mr. Fox, M.P., Sir Joshua Walsley, M.P., and Mr. Henry Vincent, were present, and addressed the assembly.

SEAMEN'S STRIKE.—The movement amongst the seamen has spread from the Tyne and Wear, and appeared at Yarmouth and in Liverpool; and assumes more than at first the character of an agitation against the Mercantile Marine Act. Two thousand of the seamen of Liverpool have paraded the town with an effigy of Mr. Labouchere, which they took into a suburban district and burned. Similar proceedings have taken place at Yarmouth. The men of the Tyne and Wear continue their strike, and their endeavours to prevent seamen from entering ships with the register-tickets required by the Act. Some serious acts of violence were committed on Sunday at North Shields.

ROYAL COMMISSION TO THE UNIVERSITIES.—It is stated that a legal opinion has been obtained by the Cambridge University authorities, expressing doubts as to the legality, in point of form, of the existing Royal Commission. No information has as yet transpired as to the decision of the legal question raised by the Principal of Brasenose Committee at the sister university on the same subject. It is, however, certain that several colleges have followed the example of All Souls, and others are preparing to do so.

POSTSCRIPT.

Wednesday, February 19, Two o'clock.

PARLIAMENTARY INTELLIGENCE.

PETITIONS.

Church of Rome, against encroachments of, 18.
Copyholds Enfranchisement, in favour of, 3.
County-rates, for control of by ratepayers, 5.
Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, against, 12.
Female Enfranchisement, for, 1.
Jews, against admission of to Parliament, 1.
Paper, for repeal of duty on, 24.
Poor-law, for alteration of assessment, 1.
Transportation, against (from Van Diemen's Land), 1.
Window-tax, for repeal of, 12.

NOTICES OF MOTION.

Feb. 20th.—Mr. Stanley, for a Select Committee on the Law of Partnership.
(Deferred to)—Mr. Lacy, for a Bill to prevent forcible Detention of Females in Religious Houses.
March 4th.—Mr. Sadler, on the Tithe Rent-charge in Ireland.
(Deferred to)—Lord Grosvenor, Bill to Repeal Attorney's Certificate duty.
Lord Duncan, for Repeal of Window-tax.
18th.—Lord Malm, Address to the Queen on Passports to Foreign States.
19th.—Sir B. Hall, to extend House-tax to Ireland.

AGRICULTURAL DISTRESS.

The House of Lords was occupied a short time yesterday evening in receiving petitions on agricultural distress, and listening to remarks thereupon by Lord Hardwicke, the Duke of Richmond, and the Earls of Winchelsea and Malmesbury, on the one hand, and Lords Granville, Wodehouse, and Fitzwilliam, on the other. Except a disdainful notice of the relief proffered by reducing the duty on seeds, nothing worthy of notice was said.

A COUNT-OUT IN THE COMMONS.

Mr. POULTEY SCROPE yesterday evening moved for a select committee to consider the propriety of assimilating the poor-laws of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and promoting reproductive pauper labour; but had not got far in his speech on this interesting question, when the House was counted out.

FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

FRANCE.—The Assembly is engaged in its bureaux on the Municipal Law. It is expected there will be a coalition between the Left and the extreme Right in favour of electoral extension and communal independence in the choice of mayors, but not sufficient to put the Government in a minority. There is a strong majority against all amendments which tend to stretch the powers of the communal and departmental councils, in order to combat the preponderant influence of Paris. Narvaer has really arrived in Paris, and taken up his residence at the Hotel Bristol, Place Vendôme. The President has taken another step towards attaching the army to himself, by displacing General Jullien from the command of a brigade of the army of Paris, and substituting General Herbillen—as devoted an adherent to the President as Jullien to the Assembly. Emile Girardin has published two addresses in the *Presse*—one to the "Governments of Europe," the other to the people of England, on "the abolition of misery by the elevation of wages." Both addresses are long and eloquent, but the latter has some ludicrous misconceptions—such as, that the treadmill is a machine indispensable to the English workhouse. To Mr. Cobden, Mr. Girardin confides "the care and honour of translating this appeal."

ITALY.—The resignation of Siccardi, it is stated, is not accepted; but it is feared that he is seriously ill. The *Daily News* correspondent gives some painfully interesting details of the sufferings of the Neapolitan constitutionalists, and some curious facts as to Jesuitical proceedings. After speaking of the removal of the twenty or thirty noblemen and gentlemen condemned to the galleys, he adds—

I have a document of value before me which gives a correct statement of the persecutions which have taken place since the reaction. Of 140 deputies, 81 are in various ways victims; 24 have been shut up in prison, unheard of, for two years; and of the character of their prisons I refer to the work of Bailie Cochrane, who surely is not too partial a testimony—51 are refugees, flying, not from a consciousness of crime, but fear of injustice. Three are hiding in the country; one, a man whose scientific fame is known in all parts of the world, the father of four sons who have died for independence, is reduced almost to a state of want; I allude to Capocci. Finally, one has been assassinated, and his assassin is a priest—nay a cavalier.

Of the twenty-four whom I reported in prison, there are the Marchese Dragonetti, ex-minister of state; Baron Carlo Poerio, just condemned to the galleys for twenty-four years; Antonio Scialoja, ex-minister of state; and (unfortunately for himself, in this benighted land) a man of great literary and scientific attainments; Pietro Leopardi, once envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the Court of Turin, &c. Of the exiles there are Saliceti, ex-minister of state; Imbriani, the same; Conforti, the same; Dr. Vincenzo Lanson, a physician of the highest eminence, whose name and writings are well known to the profession, and who is now wearing out the last remains of life in Genoa, in comparative poverty; General Guglielmo Pepe; and Francesco Carlo Ruggiero, who organized the barricades on the 15th of May, 1848, and was made minister of state on the 16th, &c. Of those who have been deprived of office, some of the most distinguished are Salvatore Tommasi, Professor of Materia Medica in the University of Naples; and Capocci, ex-director of the Royal Observatory of Naples. Every one distinguished for high literary and scientific attainments has been removed from positions of influence, as though the plague spot were on him. The unfortunate deputy who was assassinated was Costabile Carducci; and his assassin a priest, a cavalier, who now walks the streets of Naples in the enjoyment of 190 ducats a month, a pension conferred on him, it is true, in a former reign. In the above list I have given only the names of the most distinguished men of their party, but of persons of all ranks who have been thrown into the prisons of the capital for political offences since the 15th of May, 1848, there are 600; and of those who have been accused in the provinces of capital offences, the number amounts to not less than 1,500. Will it be believed that the fact of the image of the King in plaster of Paris being injured by accident has furnished grave matter for accusation, and has brought with it a severe penalty; or that a man in *L'Avogola*, for tearing the king of clubs (in playing cards), was fined 2,000 ducats, and sentenced to two years' imprisonment? Yet such facts have taken place, and scenes such as I have described are being enacted daily.

Several Englishmen, and a lady, have lately been insulted by the soldiery, and a demand for compensation may be expected.

THE GREAT REVENUE CASE in the Court of Exchequer on the eleventh day of its trial was yesterday concluded. The evidence of the Crown went to establish that breach of legal regulations, evasion of duties, and fraudulent abstraction of goods, each to the extent of many thousand pounds sterling a year, have been the rule in the London Docks. From fifteen to twenty witnesses, some of them servants of the Company for very long periods, but now "substituted" by the Customs, deposed that it has been a notorious practice of the Dock officers to abstract from every cargo of sugar a quantity varying from half a ton to three or four tons, and in different ways appropriate it to the use of the Company, and pass it into their accounts. In particular, the witnesses agreed that there is a place called "Davis's corner," where fine mercantile sugar was daily mixed with dirt, or washed down with water, to make refuse or molasses, for sale at a good profit to scum-bollers and refiners. These witnesses were rightly cross-examined; and though some of them proved to be men of unworthy character, their general testimony seemed consistent and probable. Sir Fitzroy Kelly opened the defence on Monday week with a speech of six hours' length, in which he undertook to prove that the case in its broad features is a fabrication; but admitted that trifling peculations by the subordinate officers may have occurred, wholly unknown to, and in defiance of, the Company's Directors. Day after day witnesses for the defence were called, until the Court was obliged to decline hearing more. On Monday the Solicitor-general replied, and yesterday Chief Baron Pollock summed up at great length. He agreed with the counsel in entirely exculpating the Dock Directors, and directed the jury to regard the stories about "Davis's corner" as a mere episode. The jury accordingly found a verdict substantially for the Company—that boxes of sugar had been removed, illegally, but not with a view to defraud the Company; at the same time recommending "more careful supervision for the future." The verdict was received with applause.

SUICIDE OF MR. KNOWLES.—Yesterday morning, an inquest was held at No. 20, Grosvenor-square, to inquire into the circumstances attending the death of B. F. Knowles, Esq., aged 61, late commissary-general of the forces in the West Indies, who committed suicide by swallowing a quantity of prussic acid. It appeared that the death of his daughter from burning and the subsequent departure of his only surviving son for Sierra Leone, had affected his mind; and the verdict was accordant.

THE CITY SEWERS COMMISSION have resolved, by 16 to 14, to petition against the Central Gas Consumers' Bill.

THE CRYSTAL PALACE was yesterday subjected to a trial of the strength of its galleries; three hundred workmen were crowded on a given spot, and by tramping, jumping, &c., tested severely the power of endurance. A body of sappers and miners was next marched along the gallery, and that experiment was equally satisfactory. The Queen and Prince Albert, with their children, spent above an hour in the building.

CORN EXCHANGE, MARK-LANE, WEDNESDAY, FEB. 19.

The supply of grain and flour fresh in this week is very scanty; nevertheless, our trade generally is in the same imbalanced state which has so long prevailed.
Arrivals this week:—Wheat—English, 470 qrs.; Foreign, 570 qrs. Barley—English, 1,360 qrs.; Foreign, 700 qrs. Oats—English, 2,040 qrs.; Irish, 1,300 qrs.; Foreign, 1,170 qrs. Flour—English, 1,560; Foreign, 8,330 sacks and barrels.

From its extensive circulation—far exceeding most of the journals of a similar character published in London—the *Nonconformist* presents a very desirable medium for advertisements, especially those relating to Schools, Books, Articles of General Consumption, Situations, and Appeals for Philanthropic and Religious Objects. The terms are low:—

For Eight Lines and under 5s. 0d.
For every additional Line 0s. 6d.
Half a Column.....£1 10s. | Column.....£2 10s.

A Reduction is made on Advertisements repeatedly inserted. All Advertisements from the country must be accompanied with a Post-office Order, or by a reference for payment in London.

THE TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTION are 26s. per annum, 13s. for the half-year, and 6s. 6d. per quarter.

Subscriptions (payable in advance) are received at the Office, 4, Horse Shoe-court, Ludgate-hill.

Post-office Orders, &c., payable to Messrs. Miall and Cockshaw.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

We should much have liked to give the petition of the Glamorganshire Baptist Association in *extenso*. Our space, however, during the session of Parliament is so crowded, that we cannot make room for it, and will not spoil, by abridging it.

"A correspondent," who gives his name, says in reference to a letter which appeared in our columns, from the Isle of Wight, detailing the ill-treatment of a Scripture reader, that it has "foisted upon you and your numerous readers most wilful falsehoods." We cannot publish the statements by which he substantiates his charge, but they appear to us to have all the appearance of truth.

The hint of our Islington correspondent will be attended to.

The minister of Rushall Chapel, in Wiltshire, writes a vindication of himself from the caution of Mr. Black, who, in our columns, cautioned the public against him (Mr. White) as a begging impostor. He concludes his letter, which shows that there is some squabble between the church and the trustees, with the following fair offer—"I shall be in London in the course of a few days, and if any gentleman on whom I may call for a favour to this case, will detain me, and bring the Rev. W. H. Black to me, face to face, I shall feel greatly obliged." This public challenge will, perhaps, answer the purpose of "Joseph Warner's" letter also.

The Nonconformist.

LONDON: WEDNESDAY, FEB. 19, 1851.

SUMMARY.

THE wearisome debate on the motion of Lord John Russell, for leave to bring in his Ecclesiastical Titles bill, was resumed on Wednesday, and floated over six o'clock till Friday, when it was closed by a division showing 395 in favour of the introduction of the measure, and 63 against it, giving ministers a majority of 332. This division proves clearly enough that Lord John will have strength enough to carry his measure—although it does not show the relative strength of parties on the subject, the opposition of Government in this initiatory stage of a measure being so rare that even opponents do not like to resort to it. Perhaps, when the bill is in the hands of members, and its provisions have been calmly studied, the ranks of its supporters will be considerably thinned.

We shall notice the salient points only of that portion of the debate which did not come under our review last week. Not many of "the heads of houses" have yet spoken. The main tug of warfare, we suppose, is reserved for the second reading. Mr. Howard, member for Carlisle, a Roman Catholic, commenced the discussion on Wednesday. He questioned the alleged unanimity of popular feeling on the question—showed up the "tolerance" of the Anglican hierarchy, declared that a more wanton aggression upon the rights of private property than that committed by this bill had not been attempted for more than twenty years, and cautioned the Government to expect, not only that their legal ingenuity would be taxed to the utmost, but also their physical endurance. Mr. Napier, member for the University of Dublin, subsequently charged with having been the secretary of the Brunswick Club, an illegal association, argued that this measure was demanded to protect the Roman Catholic laity against their clergy, and exposed the Romanistic policy of Lord Clarendon in Ireland, where, he said, a Protestant bishop had been recently appointed solely on account of the recommendation he had received from a Catholic prelate. Mr. Keogh made a telling speech against the bill, the most important part of which was its reference to the practical consequences of the measure. He asserted that it would put a stop to ecclesiastical functions in Ireland altogether—and that a Catholic prelate who had been present in the House during the debate—a non-political man, and one who had never assumed a territorial title—had declared, after listening attentively to the details of the measure, that unless he violated the law, which he was resolved not to do, it would be impossible for him to execute his episcopal functions. Mr. Anstey, in a speech which severely handled the Papal brief, and exposed the ambition of Cardinal Wiseman,

showed that, however legislative interference might be called for in England, Ireland did not need it—for the titles of Irish Roman Catholic prelates had not been conferred on them by a foreign prince—but had descended to them in unbroken succession from St. Patrick. The bill, as it stood, he said, would do nothing for England; and to Ireland it would do unmixed evil. Can we pass over Colonel Thompson? We wish we could—for it grieves us to see him frightened at "old wives fables," which he surely is when he attributes the Papal movement to the suggestion of France, and when he attaches importance to the existence in America of a descendant of the Stuarts. Surely the gallant colonel's feelings have got the better of his judgment—nor was it from such a quarter that we could have anticipated an expression of regret that the old statutes of the realm, including the 13th of Elizabeth, in which would have been found penalties applicable to the case, had not been resorted to and brought into action. Well might Joseph Hume express his surprise—and very pertinently also might he, looking back at the drift of Lord John Russell's letter, declare that the noble lord's first attempt ought to have been to set his own Church in order, and to ascertain who were the men that had brought their flocks to the "very verge of the precipice," and had left them there. Mr. Oswald, member for Ayrshire, repudiated, on behalf of the country of the Covenanters, any strong interest in this matter, and said he could not for the life of him make out why it was fair to prevent the synodical action of the Roman Catholic body, and yet allow it to the Free Church of Scotland. Lord John, in reply on the whole debate, in reference to his former assertion that it is childish and puerile to prevent the assumption of titles such as those held by our own hierarchy, confessed that his opinion was changed—he then had confidence in the Roman Catholics—he had since found it to have been misplaced.

The speech of Friday evening was that of Mr. F. Peel. Its purport may be gathered from a single sentence. "Here is the difficulty and the evil of legislating on such subjects—go but a little way and the act is impotent—make it something more than a dead letter and you go too far." On the theological aspect of the question, his speech, which was throughout, calm, dignified, and weighty, rose to something like fervour. "I do not wish to trust," said he, "for the vindication of Anglican Protestantism to Acts of Parliament. I rely with much greater confidence upon the power of controversial writing, and appeals to the good sense of the people—upon the power we have to demonstrate that the pretensions of the Church of Rome to a spiritual headship are without any warranty in Scripture, and are utterly opposed to it." No other speech, we think, calls for special comment but that of Mr. Milner Gibson, which deals with Lord John Russell, and the Established Church, more closely than either would desire—and suggests that at the end of a bill which he was convinced would be nugatory, the following clause should be inserted, "And be it enacted that this act may be broken with impunity during the present and all future sessions of Parliament." Of Mr. Brotherton's speech we will only remark, that it is only another added to several recent mementoes that as he gets old, he gets ministerial. The second reading of the bill will be moved by Lord John on Friday, the 28th inst.

The next great topic of Parliamentary interest is Mr. Disraeli's motion for agricultural relief, a brief summary of the first night's debate on which we gave in the Postscript of our last number. We need hardly describe now the character and drift of the member for Buckinghamshire's address, as it was afterwards (on Thursday night) analyzed with such masterly skill by Sir James Graham. The Cumberland baronet has seldom been more effective. He read the vague and moderate promises of Mr. Disraeli not to revive during the present Parliament the question of protection, by the light of the out-spoken avowals of the Duke of Richmond, that the aim of the Protectionists was to seize hold of the reins of government, and then dissolve Parliament. He cautioned them solemnly against any future attempt to reverse our free-trade policy, and told them plainly that the people having once tasted the sweets of cheapness and plenty, would never allow themselves to be deprived of them. Most of his hits were admirable, and his tone for the most part was easy, and even jocular. But when in his peroration he described the present state of parties, generously eulogized Disraeli, and paid a tribute of veneration to the departed Peel, touchingly alluding to his earnest desire that the policy which he had been instrumental in introducing might continue undisturbed, he became eloquent, and produced a profound impression on the House. The speeches of Lord John Russell and Mr. Cobden, although both good in their way, seemed to be eclipsed by the splendour of Sir James Graham's. But Ministers had a very narrow escape. Two Peelites and several Irish members—the last being anxious to punish ministers for their Ecclesiastical Titles bill—joined the ranks of Disraeli for the nonce, and raised his

minority to within fourteen of his antagonists. Another such a victory, and the Whigs will be undone.

The financial statement was made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer on Monday night, and it was very characteristic of the man. Our comment on it will be found below—the following pithy description of it is extracted from the *Times*:—"Sir Charles, finding that he may expect a surplus of about £1,892,000 for that year [namely, 1851-2], proposes the following measures:—The repeal of the window-tax, and the substitution of a moderate house-tax on the better class of houses; a reduction of the duty on foreign timber; a repeal of that on foreign agricultural seed; a reduction and equalization of the duties on foreign and colonial coffee, as well as on chicory; a removal of the cost of pauper lunatics, as well as of the approaching census, from the local rates to the Consolidated Fund; another lease of the income-tax for three years, without any modification; and the application of about £1,000,000 of next year's surplus towards the reduction of the National Debt."

We have not space to do justice this week to the Conference of the Scottish Anti-state-church Association, a brief record of whose proceedings will be found elsewhere—but we hope to deal with it in our next number.

THE BUDGET.

HOPELESSLY incapable Sir Charles Wood is determined to prove himself. Born to be a clerk, his destiny has made him Chancellor of the Exchequer. He seems to fancy that his whole duty consists in keeping accounts. With the aid of his subordinates he can make a fair statement of debits and credits, and draw a balance. Beyond this he is at sea without a compass. It is at once his luck and his misfortune to have succeeded Sir R. Peel in the sphere of his duty—his luck, because he is reaping the fruits of his predecessor's sagacity—his misfortune, because contrast brings out his own utter want of qualification into the strongest possible relief. Whether or not he has a theory of taxation is doubtful—certain it is that he never ventures to reduce it to practice. His budgets are substantially the same, year after year—no change, except in the garniture. He gets his income by the machinery which he found ready-made to his hand—that is enough for him. He might get it by a much easier process—but change implies labour—financial change, much calculation—large and useful financial change, thorough mastery of details, thorough faith in principles, unflinching courage in the application of them. Sir Charles Wood has neither of these qualifications. He is a wooden Chancellor. He neither knows nor cares to know his sphere of duties—neither studies nor cares to study the philosophy of his vocation. How to raise a given amount of income at the least cost of inconvenience and suffering, is a problem which is not only above the range of his abilities, but of his effort. Of the moral department of taxation, he is as ignorant as his own shoes. An adverse vote may bring him round, where a demonstrative and crushing argument would not be felt. As he is without system, so he is without will. His obstinacy is *vis inertia*—his changes merely the records of Parliamentary force. He is the reproach of an administration which has no countervailing virtue—the spot of disease in a body constitutionally feeble—the unsound "Pope's-eye" in a tainted leg of mutton.

The "financial statement" made on Monday night illustrates as well as suggests these remarks. The scheme for the ensuing year is based on the renewal of the Income-tax. We do not find fault with this—we are not anxious to lessen the proportion of direct taxation. But the inequality of the tax as now raised is glaring and cruel. It might be made equally productive, without inflicting a tithe of the present amount of injustice. In Ireland they used to make draught-oxen draw burdens after them by the tail—and no persuasions could induce the ignorant to save the poor brutes unnecessary pain by adopting a yoke or collar. Sir Charles Wood does just the same with the tax-payers. John Bull has so much weight to carry, and, if skilfully adjusted, he might carry it with ease. The Chancellor of the Exchequer finds the stress of this weight to bear on the weakest part. But so long as it is borne, he cares not at what amount of needless anguish. If these muscles are overstrained, and those have little or nothing to do, no matter—that is no concern of his. His object is gained—why should he not "let well alone"? He has had the advantage of the discussions twice had in Parliament on this subject—he has had three years of comparative quiet, and two of national prosperity, for inquiry, and consultation, and reflection—he is in an eminently favourable position to make a change which would have given inexpressible relief—but no; he will attempt nothing. What is clumsy must remain so. What galls and chafes must be left unaltered in its incidence. The heavy burden must still rest on its sharp edges—must require for upholding it not only strength but endurance. He will not

innovate on the venerated cruelties and crudities of his forefathers. What has been done oppressively and stupidly shall continue to be so done. The thing answers—is not that enough? Ignorance may keep guard over the past—knowledge and sagacity only can shape the future. The price we have to pay for an incapable Chancellor of the Exchequer, whose sole recommendation to office was his marriage into the Grey family, is, being compelled to sustain a heavy pressure of taxation in the most uncomfortable of all positions. If the Russell Cabinet do not take care, the ponderous Chancellor of the Exchequer will sink it. With such a dead weight on board, how will it ride out coming storms? In fair weather, his incapacity is annoying—in foul, it will be damaging, if not fatal.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer at rest, however, is really a respectable picture of a man of business compared with the Chancellor of the Exchequer in action—just as a puppet may passably represent a man until you pull the wire which moves its limbs. Sir Charles Wood has a surplus to dispose of, and hence the necessity of his venturing on a slight change. His position obliges him to give relief somewhere, and his skill must be taxed to give it where and how it will be most effectual and most sensibly felt. What does he do? Dribbles away his opportunity and his means in small sops to powerful interests. The window-tax is to be abolished—but its place is to be supplied by a house-tax, variously assessed, intended to take back two-thirds of the amount of remission. This marks the pressure upon Sir Charles of a close Parliamentary vote, and his own propensity to

—“keep the word of promise to the ear,
And break it to the hope.”

The duties on coffee are to be reduced and equalized, and chicory is to share with it a tax of threepence in the pound. This, we suppose, is meant as a boon to the colonial interest, which it will take and look at grumblingly, as a cabman does an addition of only fourpence to his legal fare. A change is to be made in the timber duties—meant as a small token of good-will to ship-owners. Agricultural seeds are henceforth to pay one shilling only in the hundredweight, as a registration duty—a crumb of comfort to tenant-farmers. Finally, £150,000 of the cost of lunatic asylums is to be transferred from the county rates to the Consolidated Fund—an offering of trifling value to Mr. Disraeli and his landowning supporters. A million sterling is to be reserved for payment of the National Debt. Thus the entire surplus is distributed.

Now, if any one will inform us how it was possible for Sir Charles Wood to get rid of a surplus of above two millions and a half in a manner less calculated to revive any drooping branch of manufacture or commerce, to inspire public gratitude, or to evince adhesion to well-understood taxational principles, we will give up our surmise that he is without a rival in this particular line. Why, no one will thank him—not even Mr. Disraeli—every one will see his object to have been Parliamentary, not national—the distribution of a few sugar-plums to quiet rebellious members. And what he gives, he gives with such a niggardly hand, as to awaken scorn where he meant to elicit thanks. He seems to have thought of anybody but the people—to have been moved by any consideration rather than a moral one—to have displayed his originality in doing the least possible service with the largest amount of means, and in not simply missing a happy opportunity, but in turning it into an unhappy one. We are not without some faint hope that he may reap his reward.

For Sir Charles implored the House to decide on the basis of his system, the income-tax, as speedily as might be, to allow his successor, if the decision were an adverse one, sufficient time to mature his financial plans for the year. This looks ominous. Does Sir Charles anticipate another temporary combination against the Ministry—a combination which, to aspiring Protectionists and enraged Roman Catholics, may add disgusted Economists? Does he foresee the possibility, not to say probability, of a hostile majority? Is his language to be regarded as a threat, or to be interpreted as an instinctive cry of alarm? For us, we will not hazard a conjecture. We see a future before us full of uncertain elements. We cannot divine what precise shape they may take. The gathering clouds may be dispersed—or the tempest may come. At any rate, the doom of the Whigs becomes more and more a matter of anxious uncertainty to their friends. They have engaged to take their craft across a dangerous bar at low water. Whether they can do so with this budget on board remains to be seen. The attempt may succeed—but it is a critical one. Their anti-Papal measure has shorn them of their party strength. They are now more than ever at the mercy of those who have no sympathy with them. Winds, waves, and darkness, conspire against them. Skill and daring might surmount their difficulties—but will cowardice and incapacity? Their luck has been singularly good—but they who put their

trust in chance confide in a fickle dame. We should not be surprised to see them stranded—nor can we pretend that we should be greatly grieved. One more escape, perhaps, may be allotted to them—but they are not far from their well-merited goal.

SUPERCILIOUS LITTLENESS.

SOME one has attempted to distinguish between genius, talent, and cleverness; and we, forgetting his definitions, may repeat the attempt for a present purpose. The first, we may say, is intellect of the highest order in combination with passion of the purest; the second, intellect of a lower degree, kept in activity by an enthusiasm native or acquired; and the third, the lowest form of intellect, sharpened by exercise, and moved by influences that may be the meanest to which mind is amenable. Genius is its own inspiration and its own opportunity. Its existence necessitates its manifestation, sooner or later; and the law of its being is the rule of its action. Talent is quickened by favourable or strengthened by adverse circumstances; glows with the consciousness of power, dilates with the pleasure of activity and the pride of success, burns with impatience of obscurity or defeat; but can deliberately choose its aims, and seldom prefers the service of a friendless, naked truth to the pursuit of a profitable profession. Cleverness is common sense sharpened into shrewdness, or polished by education—sagacity without wisdom: the smirk of self-complacent or aspiring egotism is ever on its face; ready adaptiveness in all its manners—a bustling, an obsequious, or a supercilious air, it puts on instinctively, as occasion requires, and perhaps without the slightest consciousness of hypocrisy or meanness. Genius is “born great”—talent “achieves greatness”—cleverness contrives to “have greatness thrust upon” it.

Leaving the reader to supply himself with illustrations of this “metaphysics made popular from the world of letters and art,” we would ask him to apply the theory to our present legislators; and assign to the men who now stand in the high places of England a position in one of those three classes. Let him, if he can, find one, at least, who shall take rank with the greatest—with the statesmen who have impressed their image on our history, and created that political nebula which we call our constitution; who did so, not by waiting for, but by making crises; who stood upon the everlasting, and projected themselves into the future; who received from Heaven an ideal of government, and strove to work it out on earth. A few such England has had—this generation could show one who seemed realizing this ideal as he grew in years, but who has suddenly become as historical a character as Cromwell or Charles Fox. Let the reader run down Disraeli's last speech—marking the brief bracketed records of laughter and applause—or fancy himself subjected to Mr. Roebuck's freshest bunch of stinging nettles—or observe the aspect of a house of landlords while Cobden or Bright is on the floor—and doubt, if he can, that our Parliament has more than one variety of adventurous talent. Let him then recall Lord John Russell in that attitude which will doubtless be fixed in stone or canvass—“the attitude of a man who steps back, and raises his arm to resist a blow aimed at his head”—or let him attempt to understand, at the first reading, Chancellor Wood's last budget—and then decide whether the Whig Ministers are entitled to a niche even in the rank of high-born cleverness.

The richest and most recent illustration of accidental statesmanship—of mental mediocrity ennobled by birth, furnished by learning, and powerful by virtue of a family compact, an aristocratic monopoly of legislative functions—the finest example of this, it strikes us, is furnished by the following short speech;—we need not name the orator:—

“I have, on a previous occasion, expressed my opinion to the House that there were certain amendments to the Reform Bill which I thought it was desirable to make, with a view to the extension of the franchise [hear, hear]. I still retain that opinion, and I shall certainly carry it out when I think the proper time has arrived for doing so.” [Oh, oh! and loud laughter.]

The pronominal pomposity—the haughty disclaimer of changed opinion—the masterful assertion of what “I will certainly” do when “I think the proper time is come”—fix the authorship of this reply to the modest inquiry, “whether the noble lord at the head of her Majesty's Government had it in contemplation this session to extend the suffrage?”

Not to his lordship, but to the party and the people whom he thus contemptuously cuffs, we would address the remark—that if reform should be attempted when the evil to be remedied is most flagrant, a better time than the present could scarcely be found. The nation is summoned to the repulsion and punishment of religious aggression—and five-sixths of the people have no organ of articulate utterance in that solemn assembly which acts in their name in this great emergency.

The restoration of the food monopoly, or the wresting of a compensatory privilege, is deprecated by the Minister as a serious and imminent danger—and the vast majority of the breadeaters and taxpayers, the great class confessedly most deeply interested, are without legal representation in that august body which is invested with the power of decision between conflicting interests. And there have just been enacted, in the face of the country, the most scandalous scenes that can well be conceived, because purporting to be the solemnities of public political action. In one district, the adherents of rival candidates for senatorial honour have been openly inflamed with liquor and stimulated to riot—in another, bribery and intimidation have been practised by noble landlords on tenant voters with unblushing profligacy and relentless severity. Can the “defects” of the Reform Act ever be more apparent? Can public support sufficient for its “amendment” ever be evoked, if not now? The insolent mouthpiece of aristocracy knows that his intention and theirs is, to delay till the latest possible moment the concession which he pretends to withhold till the appropriate time. There is a party in the House that knows this—that professes to represent the unenfranchised and to long for their emancipation—let them be terrified by no threats, cajoled by no whinings, into affording this embodiment of “supercilious littleness” that support without which he must give place to abler if not to honest men. There is a proverb of Solomon to the effect, “Unhappy is the people whose princes are children”—we may add, dishonoured is the nation whose rulers are insolent as well as feeble.

A CHECK FOR AUSTRIA.

THE affairs of Germany have again assumed an aspect of European importance, and are exciting no little stir in diplomatic circles. Those who feel any interest whatever in the progress of other nations besides their own, must have watched, with deep regret, the gradual but sure extinction of all hopes for political freedom in that country, by the defection of Prussia, and the ascendancy which Austria has been allowed to obtain in the affairs of the Confederation. From the day of the Warsaw Conference, the cause of freedom in Germany has been under a cloud, which the progress of time has only deepened. The Prussian Government having given way to Austrian insolence, has become rather a subordinate than an equal in questions of political moment. In betraying the Confederation it has virtually, if not nominally, betrayed itself into the hands of its southern rival. For weeks past, Austrian influence has prevailed unchecked, from Vienna to Rendsburg. Hesse Cassel has been given over to be coerced by her allies; the ruthless Bavarians—the constitutions of the minor kingdoms and states have been suspended—while Holstein, and even the free cities of Hamburg and Lubeck, have been occupied by her troops. It is true that the Prussian Parliament still remains in being, but there can be little doubt that its days are numbered, and that its sittings will be brought to a close on the first occasion when it seriously ventures to dispute the sovereign will. The mock conference of German delegates continues to hold its sittings at Dresden, and busily to occupy itself with discussions and reports, while all the time there can be no doubt that the two principal parties ostensibly engaged in its proceedings have adopted foregone decisions for the re-establishment of the despotism of the old Diet, under their joint presidentship. Not only is the Diet to be resuscitated, but to be furnished with ample means for carrying out its resolves. Austria requires that a federal army of 120,000 be permanently maintained in the neighbourhood of Frankfurt and the Rhine, to act not only against foreign foes, but to crush in the bud any risings on behalf of constitutional freedom, or to punish, as in Hesse, any show of passive resistance. The prospect is all the more gloomy from the fact, that not only is this repressive policy supported by Russia, but that the ascendancy of Austria means not only political but ecclesiastical serfdom. Austrian statesmen are not satisfied with trampling out every spark of political freedom, but do their best to restore the reign of the Papal power wherever their influence extends. In Suabia and Franconia we are told she is at this moment using her influence to restore the old Catholic establishments, monasteries, and party. Such is the policy of that European power which the ultra-Protestant *Times* holds up to the admiration of its English readers!

It is scarcely surprising that such rapid and marked success in the realization of its schemes should embolden the Court of Vienna to still further plans for enlarging and consolidating its power. The more important portion of its ambitious designs has yet to be carried into effect. One of these consists of a Customs' Union for all Germany, in place of the present Zollverein of the Northern States. Here it is stated the Austrian plan interferes so directly with the material interests of Prussia, that that power will offer it a most determined opposition. But after what has occurred, we are naturally disposed to doubt the

ability of Prussia to stand out for any length of time against the demands of its more energetic rival.

A still more serious question, however, remains behind—one involving not only Prussian or German, but European interests—we refer to the formal demand made by Austria for the incorporation of all her dominions with the territory of the Germanic Confederation. This important proposal has suddenly roused public attention both in France and in this country, to the ambitious pretensions of that power. For it is to be noted, that simultaneously with this demand, an Austrian army is being concentrated on the borders of Piedmont—the only constitutional state of Italy, and that hostile threats have been used both by that power and by Prussia towards Switzerland. Much as Louis Napoleon and his successive Ministers have been disposed to favour a conservative, and even repressive policy, in regard to European affairs, they now find that the only result has been to tarnish the honour of the French name, involve the country in heavy expenses, and aggrandize the power of Austria. The new scheme for the admission of the non-German dominions of Austria into the Confederation, most materially affects the foreign relations of France. It would create a formidable rival on her eastern border, and would almost destroy her influence in Italy. Still worse, it would almost extinguish all hopes of Italian freedom, by extending the power of Austria over the whole of the peninsula, and supporting its authority by all the resources of the Confederation. From the Baltic to the Adriatic, that large portion of Europe would be subject to their rule of a leagued despotism, ready to use its combined resources at any given point, both for the repression of internal democratic tendencies, and for the coercion of neighbouring and freer states.

To these dangers France is at length aroused, and what it would not do for the cause of humanity and freedom it finds itself compelled to do by considerations of self-interest. Its government, we are told, has sent an explicit and decided protest to Vienna against any such extension of the Germanic Confederation beyond the Alps, on the ground that it would be a material alteration of the treaties of 1815, and an important addition to the political strength of states contiguous to the French territory, and frequently rivals of French influence. Our own Government has so far participated in this movement as to have sent a courier during the past week, conveying to Dresden and Vienna its remonstrances against an arrangement which can only be legally effected with the assent of a European Congress, and which threatens, by so extensive a change in the relations of Austria with Italy, to be the germ of future differences, or even hostilities, in that country.

The issue of this diplomatic war will be watched with anxiety by all who take an interest in continental affairs. It is a turn of the political kaleidoscope, which overthrows all previous calculations, and may give rise to new and important combinations. Let us hope that it is the precursor of a wiser and more enlightened foreign policy on the part of our French neighbour which may lead, in the first place to beneficial changes in Italy, and preserve intact the independence of Switzerland and Piedmont. We can scarcely imagine that a scheme thus opposed by England and France will be persevered in by Austria, though sanctioned by the approval of the Emperor Nicholas. Its frustration may be attended with important consequences to European freedom. For months past has this bankrupt state, though scarcely recovered from the agonies of impending dissolution, been making gigantic efforts to save itself from its doom by assuming an aggressive attitude towards divided Germany. Thus far success has crowned its efforts and covered over the canker that is eating away its very heart. But at length it has received an unexpected check. Down-trodden Germany is not left to struggle alone with the insolent bully that has overawed rather than subdued it. Go to war with France Austria cannot, and to be foiled in its efforts to saddle Germany with its financial embarrassments would be equally disastrous. Can she stand firm in this critical juncture, now that she has found her match? Is a question which concerns the welfare of millions. Perhaps we may draw an augury from the fact, that the *Times*, so faithful an exponent of Austrianism, now at length finds it politic to desert its *protégé*, and leave it to fight its own battles. At all events, it is a happy circumstance for Europe, that a Government which is the impersonation of all that is hostile to human progress, is likely to be checked in its career of daring ambition, to have the mask torn from its face, and to be compelled to grapple, not with a foreign foe, but with accumulated difficulties at home such as would appal the heart of the wisest statesman.

Mr. Haberfeld, having been Mayor of Bristol no fewer than six times, is to be complimented with a testimonial, towards which £600 has been already subscribed.

THE MIRROR OF PARLIAMENT.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

PETITIONS PRESENTED.

Agriculture, for relief of, 44.
Attorneys' Certificates, for repeal of duty on, 8.
Bible, for enabling all persons to print, 13.
Church of Ireland, for restoration of synodical functions, 1.
Church of Ireland, for abolition of, 1.
Church of Rome, against encroachments of, 195.
Carriage-tax, for alteration of, 1.
Copyhold Emancipation, in favour of, 7.
County-rates, for control of by rate-payers, 19.
Currency, for abolition of gold standard, 1.
Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, against, 2.
Education, for a national system of, 1.
Jews, against admission of, to Parliament, 13.
Legacy Duty, for exemption of charitable bequests on, 2.
Maynooth College, for withdrawing support from, 1.
Malt, against duty on, 1.
Mercantile Marine Act, for amendment of, 1.
Newspapers, for repeal of taxes on, 4.
Ocean Postage, for establishment of, 1.
Paper, for repeal of duty, on 77.
Patent Laws, for amendment of, 1.
Property-tax, for alteration of, 8.
— for exempting tenant farmers from, 1.
Slave-trade, for suppression of, 2.
Soap, for repeal of duty on, 3.
Stage-coaches, for repeal of duty and of post-horse duties, 2.
Sunday trading, against bill for preventing, 1.
Taxes, for alteration in mode of assessment, 1.
Windows, for repeal of duty on, 518.

BILLS PRESENTED AND READ A FIRST TIME.

Sunday Trading Prevention Bill.
Compound Householders Bill.
Hops Bill.

NOTICES OF MOTION.

February 27. Mr. Hume—The Borneo Massacres.
— Mr. Trevelyan, on Church-rates.
— Mr. McCallagh—Bill to encourage the granting of Leases in Ireland.
— 28. Mr. William Williams—Return of all new places created and appointments made since the 5th day of April, 1848, whether under any Act of Parliament, or by any other authority, and of the names of the persons appointed to them; stating, separately, the salaries of each, and the estimated annual expenses of the establishments in connexion with such appointments (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 633, of Session 1848).
— Mr. McCallagh & Lord Arundel—On the Motion for Second Reading of the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, to move, that the Bill be read a second time upon this day six months.

DEBATES.

THE PAPAL ASSUMPTIONS.

On Wednesday, Mr. P. HOWARD (as mover of the adjournment from the previous Monday) resumed the debate on the first reading of the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, as Lord John Russell's measure on the Papal assumption is entitled. Mr. Howard began by expressing his anxiety to defend, in the hour of its present peril, that cause which his forefathers, and the forefathers of many of those who surrounded him, defended in circumstances of still greater danger—a cause now bound up with the great cause of religious liberty [hear, hear]. If the first step was taken in violation of full religious freedom; no one could say where it would end [hear, hear]. There was no instance of a nation taking a retrograde step of this kind, without following it out to still graver consequences; for religious persecution was only strengthened by contradiction. Whilst he was prepared manfully to defend the creed and cause of which he was the humble advocate, he trusted he would do so with—to use the language of Mr. Whitbread—"intrepid moderation;" for, as had been well observed by an eminent French philosopher—Count Le Maistre—"violence and insult were one of the signs of error." The Secretary of State for the Home Department had adverted to the unanimity of the country on this subject; yet no person could be more cognisant than he, that the effort to get up an anti-Catholic demonstration in Northumberland, which the right hon. baronet represented, had utterly failed, and that the spirit of religious intolerance had met with a stern and severe rebuke in that county [hear, hear]. In the great county of Lancaster no meeting had taken place; the inhabitants of that busy hive of industry were well aware, that the cause of commerce was not promoted by religious discord [hear, hear]; and, therefore, remained in calm and philosophic repose, waiting for the time when the truth would prevail. The town council of the large town of Leeds had petitioned the House firmly to guard and protect religious freedom [hear, hear]. The hon. member for Warwickshire (Mr. Spooner) could inform the right hon. baronet, that the great and important town of Birmingham refused to address her Majesty on the subject [hear, hear]. The town council of Carlisle, which he (Mr. Howard) had the honour to represent, did not think it any part of their municipal duty to thank the Prime Minister for his letter to the Bishop of Durham [hear, hear]; and he rejoiced that other of the municipal bodies in the country had on this occasion, as in the middle ages, proved themselves to be the champions and pillars of religious liberty [hear, hear]. The Prime Minister had passed a high eulogium on the Church of England—that it was a highly tolerant church. The noble lord seemed to forget, that praise when ill bestowed degenerated into satire. How did twenty-six bishops of this "tolerant" Church designate the church of one-third of the inhabitants of the United Kingdom, and of a great portion of the colonies—the Church from which they derived their own orders? Why, as an inculcator of blasphemous fables and dangerous deceptions. Such language carried its own condemnation; but yet such was the language in which they addressed a sovereign, many of whose nearest and dearest relations—the Prince of Portugal and Prince Augustus of Coburg, the Duchess de Nemours and the Queen of the Belgians—professed the Catholic religion [hear, hear]. "Who needs be told," said the Bishop of Oxford, "that Romanism is a system which so saps honesty in the minds of men, that there is nothing dishonest which is not thought

holy, nothing subject to its encroachments which is not defiled by its pollutions" [hear, hear]. The right reverend prelate thought it not unbecoming of him to apply these coarse invectives to the faith of the greatest portion of Christendom, in Merton College, a college which could boast of a Wykeham and a Chicheley. Another bishop (the Bishop of Durham) counselled the entire suppression and expulsion of all the monastic orders and of the Jesuits in England and Scotland, but would allow them the run of Ireland. And yet the noble lord boasted of the great tolerance of the Established Church! As to the synod of Thurles, the Roman Catholic Church was not the only one which interfered with education. The Educational Bill, introduced some years ago by Sir J. Graham, was opposed by the Wesleyan body, and their opposition was mainly instrumental in throwing out the bill; and did not the system of national education in Ireland meet with the continued opposition of the Established Church in that country? [hear, hear.] It was vain to expect that the ministers of all creeds would not take a decided part in whatever concerned the religion of the people. Against the views of the Ministers and their law officer, he would refer to an opinion of a noble lord who once filled the high office of Secretary of Ireland, and who left that country with the respect of all parties—the Earl of St. Germans [hear, hear]—and to the opinion of one who had filled the post of Prime Minister of England, the late Lord Castlereagh—premising that there was this advantage in the grandeur of the cause which they were then debating, that it was not confined to the narrow limits of time, but dealt with principles that were eternal. Lord Castlereagh, as quoted in "Butler's Historical Memoirs," argued against the idea that any additional evil or difficulty arose from the existence of the Roman Catholic Church in an episcopal form in Ireland; on the contrary, he was of opinion that the power and authority incident to bishops was in itself *pro tanto* a salutary reduction of the external authority of the *see* of Rome; and on this ground, however, the assumption of a titular character might excite some degree of uneasiness, he preferred the ministry of bishops to that of apostolic vicars, who were removable at pleasure, and had implicitly to obey all the orders of Rome. The arguments of Dr. Wiseman's "Appeal" remained unrefuted. The hon. member for Oxford seemed to think it impossible for a bishop to be created without the sanction of the Crown or Government. He must have forgotten that during the three first centuries of its existence, the Christian religion under the episcopal form of government was maintained in direct opposition to the Roman government. During that period the emperors claimed the title and the prerogatives of Pontifex Maximus, and bitterly persecuted the Christians. And was not St. Augustin a bishop in this country some time before the conversion of Ethelred had conciliated the Anglo-Saxon government? With regard to the Papal letter, Dr. Wiseman's pastoral was addressed expressly "To the clergy, secular and regular, and the laity and faithful of the archdiocese." It applied peculiarly and exclusively to Roman Catholics, and would affect those only to whom it was addressed. The highest and greatest authority had said, "Whose superscription is this?" and thereby defined the manner in which a document was to be interpreted. This renowned and much-abused pastoral was addressed to the members of the olden faith, and to them alone if any further corroborative testimony of which was required, it might be found in the mention of those Latin prayers which were to be recited after the sacrifice of the mass. Having thus vindicated the pastoral from the imputation of being an arrogant assumption, he (Mr. Howard) would say in reference to the measure introduced, that, interfering with all the charities and trusts of this country, it had not, in that sense, been called for by the haughtiest and most arrogant opponents of his faith. A more wanton and arrogant aggression upon the rights of private property had not been attempted for more than twenty years. That measure, not by a factious opposition, but by such an opposition as was consistent with the holy cause which he advocated, should be perseveringly resisted. The Government might depend upon it that not only their legal ingenuity, but their physical endurance would be highly taxed. Protection, as between themselves and their bishops, the Catholic laity needed none; and if the Prime Minister and the Crown had been led to suppose that they did, the address which had been presented to Cardinal Wiseman by the most talented and distinguished of the laity must decidedly contravene that supposition. Their church claimed nothing from this country but toleration [hear, hear]—and would defend its own creed, as other churches might defend theirs; and "God defend the right!" [The hon. member became so energetic in his action that while finishing the sentence he knocked off the hat of Colonel Thompson, who sat just below him; which excited much laughter.]

Mr. NAPIER said, the honourable gentleman had told them that their physical patience would be taxed; and others that if the bill were passed it would not be obeyed. He would tell them that the law of the land should be obeyed [cheers]. The House was not to be bullied, nor were the Government to be prevented from proceeding with a measure to represent the rational and constitutional feelings of the community [cheers]. The argument about civil and religious liberty was a mere begging of the question; for the best guarantee for the civil and religious liberty of all classes was the preservation of the constitution unbroken, and the throwing of its shelter over the laity of every denomination [hear, hear]. The parties chiefly interested were

the Roman Catholics themselves, from some of whom he had heard that they considered the decision of the late synod an insult [hear, hear]. That synod had said that controversy was decided, that there must be no further discussion, and the result was, that the laity were for the future to be merely the serfs of the Papal authority. Any measure that prevented such a state of things was not only a wise, but a merciful measure. He believed that the Catholics themselves were anxious for its success, as many of his constituents of that persuasion had begged of him to exercise his unbiassed judgment without fear of their opposition [hear, hear]. The hon. member for Dublin had complained that all the patronage of Ireland was given to Protestants. The same hon. member had formerly made a statement about the sums left by Irish prelates, which he (Mr. Napier) in investigating found in excess to the amount of £700,000 [hear]. The present statement might have a similar foundation. His belief was, that being a Protestant was positively a disqualification for public employment in Ireland [hear, hear]. Two of the leaders of the Munster circuit had retired in disgust in consequence of the number of Catholic juniors promoted over their heads. But, stranger than that, a Protestant bishop had been recently appointed, solely on account of the recommendation he had received from a Catholic prelate [a laugh]. The Secretary for the Home Department had elaborately defended the Government policy in Ireland; but his (Mr. Napier's) opinion was, that that policy had led directly to the recent aggression [hear, hear]. In allusion to the case of the Bequest Act, which had been so much discussed, it turned out to be quite a mistake, but certainly in 1847, when the sacred college was settling the appointment of the English bishops, both Lord Grey and Lord Clarendon were calling the Roman Catholic bishops "my lord," and "your grace," and putting them above the peers of the realm [hear, hear]. These things might be considered trifles, but such conduct proved either that Ministers were not honest, or that they were politically afraid of the Roman Catholics. Let the Pope once get the opinion that we were politically afraid of his adherents, and his schemes of aggression would not be much checked by any of our legislative opposition [hear, hear]. What must be thought of the representative of a British sovereign writing to the Pope of Rome, respecting the internal regulation of her kingdom? [hear.] Yet in his letter Lord Clarendon stated that on the boards of the Queen's colleges would be "the Roman Catholic bishops of the diocese." What inference was the Pope to draw from that? The whole letter was in the same strain, and was entirely calculated to mislead the Pope as to the Protestant feeling in this country, and the chances of re-establishing Popery [hear, hear]. The abolition of ten Protestant bishoprics, the increased Maynooth grant, and other measures, proved clearly that either Government was secretly disposed towards this foreign power, or else was politically afraid of its followers in this country. With respect to the presentations at the Irish court during the Queen's visit, it had been said that the precedence given to Archbishop Crolly was quite a mistake. But the fact was, that Bishop Crolly was dead at the time! The right hon. Secretary had also stated that in the presentation the University of Dublin got its proper place. It did, but no thanks to the subordinates of Dublin Castle for the justice. The original intention was, to place them after the Roman Catholic prelates, but the vice-provost was not to be trifled with, and he threatened to withdraw his troops if their proper place were not conceded to them [laughter].

Mr. Keogh said that were any evidence wanted of the impartial and tolerant character of this bill it was found in the manly support of his hon. and learned friend, the member for the University of Dublin, and the secretary of the Brunswick Clubs [cheers from the Irish members]—clubs established expressly for the purpose of resisting legislation in the direction of religious liberty [hear, hear]. The hon. and learned member stated that simply to be a Protestant was exclusion from office in Ireland; but how stood the facts? Of the Irish law officers, two were Protestant; of twelve judges, nine were Protestants; the Chancellor was Protestant as well as the Master of the Rolls; of five masters in Chancery four were Protestants; out of thirty-three assistant barristers, twenty-five were Protestants. The hon. and learned member had once made a similar statement respecting the University of Dublin, saying that all its emoluments and honours were open to Roman Catholics; the fact being that a Roman Catholic could only attain the office of sizar, a derogatory position, with an income of £15 a-year. Unless they descended to the office of beadle or policeman, he knew not where they would find that number of Catholics holding office which would give a majority in their favour [hear, hear]. He (Mr. Keogh) repudiated the notion that the Catholic laity of England or Ireland permitted the interference of their priests in their private and temporal affairs, or would permit them to interpose between them and the allegiance they owed to their sovereign [hear, hear]. No one could more strongly condemn the interference which had been alluded to in the case of the Minister of Sardinia than he did; but such a thing could not occur here, and, if it did, it would be indignantly repudiated by the whole Catholic community [hear, hear]. That the law was violated by the introduction of a Papal bull, he would disprove. Who would assert that the power of creating a bishop in the Protestant Church of England rested with the sovereign? The right had existed in the time of Henry VIII.; but it had been repealed. The act of Victoria, in reference to colonial bishoprics, proved that the Crown now

possessed no such power; for that act was necessary to enable the Crown to appoint to those bishoprics, which it could not do before. The creation of Roman Catholic bishoprics, therefore, could be no infraction of the Queen's prerogative, or of the common law. As to the assumption of territorial power, had any one of these Roman Catholic bishops jurisdiction over any persons in his district, or power to raise a sixpence of revenue? Every power which these bishops had now, was possessed by them when they were styled vicars apostolic. There was a compact in the Act of Union with Scotland for the maintenance of the Presbyterian religion in that country, and a clause in the Coronation Oath to that effect—notwithstanding which, the Protestant bishops of Scotland had addressed the Crown on the so-called Papal aggression, and that address was most graciously received; as was the address from the 28 bishops of England, in which they described the religion of 10,000,000 of her Majesty's subjects, and of 200,000,000 of the human race, as a tissue of blasphemy [cheers].

Sir G. GREY said that no such address had been presented to her Majesty. What the hon. gentleman alluded to was probably an address from the Scotch bishops to their brother bishops of England.

Mr. Keogh: No such thing [hear, hear]. It was an address emanating from the Christian Knowledge Society.

Sir G. GREY: Oh, I beg pardon.

Mr. Keogh was right then, in saying that an address was presented to her Majesty, through the right hon. baronet, and was most graciously received, in which those words were used [hear, hear]. The noble lord in former times declined to receive an address signed "John, Archbishop of Tuam," because it was contrary to a clause in the Emancipation Act—but the right hon. baronet it appeared had not hesitated to receive an address signed by the Bishop of Aberdeen, the Bishop of Glasgow, and the Bishop of Argyle, in the Highlands, though it was contrary to the constitution of Scotland and the oath her Majesty had taken to uphold the Presbyterian religion in that country [hear, hear]. It would seem that, having conceded emancipation, they were now about to enact penalties against the Catholics for acting upon it [cheers]. The noble lord had over and over again, when he was in opposition, said it was a foolish and puerile policy which prohibited the Catholic bishops from assuming their titles. In 1845, when the Irish members were to be conciliated, and Catholic Ireland was to be brought to the "scratch" [hear, and a laugh]—for the purpose of driving from power that great statesman whose loss universal Europe deplored [hear]—then the noble lord could not conceive any ground for those restrictions which he now called upon Parliament to enforce [hear]. Again, in 1846, the noble lord said, "to prevent persons assuming particular titles is absurd—nothing can be more puerile than to keep up distinctions of this kind [hear, hear]. And by whom had the noble lord been thanked for the course he was now taking? Surely he must have felt some compunction of conscience when he received the thanks of the member for Oxford University (Sir R. Inglis). For thirty or forty years the noble lord had been the distinguished advocate and vindicator of religious toleration, while, for about the same length of time, the hon. baronet had been the consistent, unswerving, and unchanging supporter of intolerance—and, if he might without offence use the expression—of consistent bigotry [cheers]. Was there not something strange in this extraordinary conjunction of the noble lord and of the hon. baronet—to say nothing of the hon. member for Dublin University, who had always been the friend of civil and religious liberty? [laughter.] Now, one word about the synod of Thurles. Did they see anything about that synod in the noble lord's celebrated letter? Surely that invasion of the functions of Parliament must have been as fresh in the noble lord's memory then as now [cheers]. But he (Mr. Keogh) would tell the noble lord that so far from the Roman Catholics of Ireland being prepared to submit to all that was laid down at that synod, in regard to their civil rights or temporal affairs—at that precise period there was a movement to declare their opinion on the subject. What that opinion was it was not now necessary to state—but that movement was stopped by the extraordinary document which emanated from the noble lord. Now he would appeal to the noble lord with regard to some of the details of this measure. Had he considered what would be its effect in Ireland? He was not asking whether he had considered what would be its effect on public opinion, for perhaps the noble lord was now in a position to disregard that altogether, though there was a time when he courted it [cheers]—but what the peculiar working of the law would be on the Roman Catholic Church of Ireland? Its effect would be to put a stop to ecclesiastical functions in that country altogether. A Catholic prelate who had been present in the House during the debate—a man who had never taken part in political agitation, who had never assumed the title against which the bill was directed—this right rev. gentleman, after listening carefully to the details of the proposition, said that, without violating the law (which he was determined not to do), it would be impossible for him to execute his episcopal functions. Was the noble lord prepared for these consequences? He might have conciliated the Presbyterians and dealt a blow to the Puseyites, but had he considered Catholic Ireland? [hear, hear.] Was he prepared to rouse the fell spirit of religious hate which had happily all but subsided in that country? [hear, hear.] Had he taken counsel of the Attorney-General, and inquired whether he was prepared—he hoped, however, that not one of the Irish prelates would disobey the law [hear, hear]—to frame a bill

of indictment against the ecclesiastics of 6,000,000 of her Majesty's subjects [hear, hear]—to conduct a prosecution against the Archbishop of Tuam before a jury of Mayo [hear, hear]—or was this a statute passed not to be enforced, and not intended to be enforced? In conclusion, he would quote, not by way of intimidation, but of advice, the counsel which the noble lord himself had given to one of his predecessors, that just retribution would overtake that statesman, who, not appealing to sound and enlightened public opinion, laid hold of some popular prejudice or mistaken notion to secure his own power by deluding or misleading the people [hear, hear].

Mr. ANSTET begged to inform the house that the Roman Catholic Church of Ireland had the power, and the people of Ireland the will, to resist aggression, come from what quarter it might, upon their civil or ecclesiastical liberties. They had exercised this power and will early in the present century. When a rescript of the President of Propaganda reached Ireland, in the year 1813, the laity, and afterwards the clergy of the Roman Catholic Church, met, and unanimously passed resolutions, in which they declared that the document in question was non-mandatory, and not entitled to their obedience or respect. Since that period no new attempt on the part of the Court of Rome had called for the interference of either the Irish clergy or people [hear, hear]. The Irish Roman Catholic clergy were long since empowered to do everything they required at home—they had no occasion to go to Rome at all, except in the last resort. Their titles had not been given by the Pope, or by any foreign prince—but had come down to them in unbroken succession from St. Patrick; and with the exception of the "Archbishop of Tuam," all the Irish Roman Catholic bishops styled themselves, not by their titles, but by their proper names. This distinction between the case of Ireland and England was left wholly unrecognised by the bill. But it was a foolish thing to deal with titles at all. If they were to legislate upon such a subject, it should be, not to prohibit the simple assumption of titles, but their assumption if conferred by a foreign prince. As the bill stood, it was as useless as it would be mischievous: to England, it would do no good at all; to Ireland, it would do unmixed evil. It was a great mistake to suppose that the episcopal power vested in the members of the new English hierarchy was subject to any contingency or limitation. In 1837 a hierarchy was proposed for England, consisting of metropolitan bishops, chapters, and parish priests, the chief members of which should not be nominated by the Pope, but elected by their spiritual subjects. That scheme of hierarchy, deliberately accepted by the laity, was as deliberately rejected by the vicars apostolic. The effect of the bill would most probably be, that Drs. Wiseman and Ullathorne would again style themselves "apostolical vicars," because, let it be borne in mind, the brief which appointed them as bishops still empowered them to continue to act as "apostolical vicars." Notwithstanding the present bill, it would be impossible for any court of equity to refuse a writ to enforce the letters apostolical of the Pope with reference to existing trusts. By the brief all privileges relating to places and religious orders were for ever swept away, and power was given, not to the clergy, but to the prelates, to make whatever laws they pleased. It would depend mainly on the state of our municipal legislation in what sense the newly-created hierarchy should become established; and in the name of the Roman Catholics of England he (Mr. Anstet) declared that it would be only just and merciful to oppose obstacles, by means of municipal legislation, to that autocracy. He had himself been prepared to bring in a bill which would have had this effect, by enacting, among other things, that the management of Roman Catholic charities should be vested in lay trustees, and be administered by a cheap process in the Court of Chancery. That was for England—the Irish Catholics repudiated all legislation on their affairs; there was, at present at least, no necessity for it; and he should move, at the right time and at every stage, the omission of all reference to Ireland, or the restriction of the measure to England. It was true that the Roman Pontiff had conferred upon him a very great distinction, as he had been taunted, but it was equally true that that distinction was conferred because he had laboured to improve the relation of the Roman Catholic clergy in this country.

About twenty members next rose simultaneously to speak, but Mr. SPENCER was so fortunate as to "catch the Speaker's eye," and proceeded to declare energetically, amidst cheers and laughter, that the noble lord had disappointed him. Let him throw himself upon the country, and there would be a universal declaration from Protestant England that the Queen shall not be insulted, and that the constitution shall not be infringed!

Mr. A. J. B. HORS followed, in a few nearly inaudible sentences; comparing Lord John to the hero of that novel of the eminent lady (Mrs. Shelley), whose death the papers had just announced—having raised the monster, the monster was visibly hunting him to death [laughter]. The noble lord might have rested in a statesmanship of dignified silence; but he had incautiously sounded an unnecessary alarm, and *non volens volens*, he was compelled to pass a bill which must have the appearance of vigour, but the only effect of which would be to place the new Catholic hierarchy upon a safe pedestal of easy martyrdom and quiet heroism ["hear, hear," and laughter].

Colonel THOMPSON next obtained a brief and very impatient hearing. He was understood to say that he did not wish to appear in opposition to his Roman Catholic fellow-subjects; but he could not dispute the fact that an aggression had been com-

mitted. He thought, however, that they were looking for the aggression in the wrong place. The Pope had been restored to his state in Rome by a French general, who, perhaps, had suggested the message, and in that message was an allusion to the Stuart family, a representative of which, at the present time, resided in America, and claimed to be the descendant of James II. This was known in France, and known also to her Majesty's Government, for he had last session referred to the matter, and handed to them a paper issued by this individual. He had heard something of a quarrel between this representative of the Stuarts and a member of the House of Commons, who had used the words "the obsolete dynasty of the Stuarts." [Here the interruption and noise in the house prevented the gallant member from being heard for some time.] He attributed, as was understood, the aggression of the Pope to French influence; and concluded by expressing his regret that the old statutes of the realm, including the 13th of Elizabeth, in which would have been found penalties applicable to the case, had not been resorted to and brought into action. For himself, he should be always ready to do his best to secure to Roman Catholics, and all other religious sects, the blessings of religious liberty.

Mr. Hume expressed his great surprise at the words of his hon. and gallant friend, regarding him, as he had always done, as one of the most staunch advocates of civil and religious liberty, and one whose public acts had always been those of a liberal politician. What ground had he shown for the revival of penalties and persecution—for persecution his hon. and gallant friend had been advocating—and persecution was the object of the old statutes he talked of bringing into operation? He must have been misled by some person in America into the position he was taking, and he was truly sorry to hear him calling for penalties on account of something he said had been done by some Frenchmen. His (Mr. Hume's) opinion of the matter was, that Rome had been guided by the conduct of some of the most eminent men in this country, leaders in the Universities and the Church of England—learned men, who, within a short time, had relinquished the Protestant principles in which they had been bred, and betaken themselves to Catholicism. There were plenty of men who had been brought up at the public expense, and who betrayed instead of feeding the flocks committed to their spiritual charge [hear]. Before the Government embarked in the course they proposed, the law, as affecting Catholics in England, Ireland, Scotland, and the colonies, should be made intelligible to them. The bill ought to be upon the table, in order that they might be better able to form an opinion of what the Government intended to do; for the speech of the Attorney-General was different from that of the noble lord, and he could not reconcile the two, or infer otherwise than that the bill would now prove different from the measure which the noble lord would have proposed, had he brought it in on the previous Friday night. He had hoped he had lived to see the time when oblivion closed upon the old days of persecution, and the last rag of it was destroyed; but what sort of prospect was there now for the people, who were crying out for the reduction of taxation, when measures were being taken that must cast a firebrand into Ireland and Canada? If for no other reason, he should deplore this movement on account of its connexion with Ireland. There were 45,000 of our troops there already [hear, hear], and 45,000 more would not be enough if the Government chose to create dissatisfaction and confusion in that country. Ought not members to ask themselves why Ireland was discontented? The Irish Church was one cause [hear]. He greatly regretted to hear the hon. member opposite, and others, hounding on the Government to acts of force, and to the putting out of the strong hand of the penal law.

Mr. Spooner was understood to deny that he had stimulated the Government to persecution.

Mr. Hume could not then understand the meaning of the hon. gentleman's speech. Remembering former days, when the Whig Government suffered so much from the No-Popery cry, and were obliged to leave office, he was truly sorry to see the noble lord now the leader of that party. The noble lord might not have meant it—he might have mistaken bigotry for earnestness; but then the first measure he brought in should have been one to set his own church in order [hear, hear]—to ascertain who were the men who had brought their flocks to the "very verge" of Roman Catholicism, and there left them [hear, hear]. The temporalities of the Church had a great deal to do with the present movement [hear, hear]. If in 1837 the Church had been set in order, so that every man receiving public pay for the discharge of a public duty should faithfully perform that duty, this aggression would most probably have never been heard of. It would seem as if the noble lord was afraid to trust Protestant principles in opposition to the Catholic faith. But could anybody believe that, with such an Establishment as ours, of archbishops, bishops, and other clerical functionaries, both in England and Ireland, with such an immense staff paid so highly, that the Established Church was in danger? With such guards, what fear was there—he had none—of danger from Catholic priests? It was this—Catholic priests were assiduous, zealous, earnest, and did the duty expected from them, while the clergy of the Church of England let in wolves among their flocks [hear]. For himself, he wanted free trade in religion [cheers]. He would not oppose the introduction of the measure, but he would counsel the noble lord to go back; for if he went on in the course he had elected, he would find himself involved in still greater difficulties [hear].

Mr. Oswald said that, in the country of the Covenanters, there had been no agitation upon this matter; in Ayrshire, the county he represented, there had been no public meetings whatsoever. It appeared to him that the noble lord had—of course from the purest motives—renounced every principle of his life [hear, hear]. He held the act of the Pope to be purely spiritual, and with no temporal object; for he would pay no attention to specious quibbles and fine-drawn distinctions between ecclesiastical and spiritual. Rome had done no more than the Free Church of Scotland on its separation in 1843, when 150 men of the General Assembly marched out one by one—and a nobler spectacle Christendom never saw [hear, hear]—and constituted themselves, in principle and in fact, a Free Church of Scotland. They selected elders and presbyters, took titles and distinctions, assumed spiritual dominion and discipline, met in General Assembly, deliberated together and called themselves a church. With them there had been no interference by the Government, yet would any one tell him that the spiritual power of the Pope had been exerted more than the spiritual authority of that Church to which his right hon. friend the Secretary at War (Mr. Fox Maule) belonged? Either the Bill of which the noble lord at the head of the Government had given notice would prevent synodical action or it would not. The Attorney-General had said that it would prevent synodical action; and if so, he (Mr. Oswald) would ask if it were fair to prevent the synodical action of the Roman Catholic body, without adopting the same course towards the Free Church of Scotland? [loud cries of "hear, hear."] For all the life of him he (Mr. Oswald) could not see how they should prohibit the one without prohibiting the other. But suppose that the bill did nothing but take away titles—was it for this that the whole nation had been troubled from one end to the other? [hear, hear.] If that were to be the sole effect of the bill, the sooner the noble lord, having received the compliments of the hon. member for Warwickshire (Mr. Spooner) for his complete abandonment of his early principles, did what he had advised the Cardinal to do, the better—walk away to Rome [laughter]. There had been a good deal said about the spiritual supremacy of the Queen; but the supremacy of the Queen in Scotland, exercised in the spirit of the noble lord, which was tyranny to the church of which the Queen was the head, and persecution towards those of whom her Majesty was not the spiritual head, but who were only temporal subjects—that supremacy was connected in the minds of the people of Scotland with two hundred years of civil war [hear, hear]. The ministers of the Free Church of Scotland had resigned all their temporalities rather than submit to what they considered an arbitrary exercise of this supremacy [loud cries of "hear, hear"].

It being now within half-an-hour of six—at which time the Speaker vacates the chair on Wednesdays, whatever is before the House—

Lord JOHN RUSSELL rose to reply, intimating that he hoped thereby to close the debate. He averred that the allegations with which he had set out had not been contradicted—namely, that, according to the public law of Europe, it is not lawful to erect ecclesiastical sees in any territory without the consent of the reigning sovereign; and secondly, that no sovereign in Europe would submit to the creation of bishoprics within his territory, unless his approbation had been previously asked and given. He repeated his denial that the Government had been a consenting party to the establishment of bishoprics in England, or had given any reason to suppose they would consent; and then proceeded to reply to attacks upon his consistency:—

The hon. member for Buckinghamshire has said that the bringing forward of the present Bill is totally inconsistent on my part after the declarations I had formerly made. I am not about to say that those declarations—amounting to this, that I thought it childish and puerile to prevent the assumption of titles held by bishops of our own church—I am not about to say that these were consistent with the opinions which I hold now [hear]. Whatever may have formerly been my confidence with respect to the conduct of the Roman Catholic ecclesiastics—whatever may have been my confidence with respect to the conduct of the people—I have found since that time that that confidence was misplaced [loud cheers, and "hear, hear"]. And I have thought it better clearly and plainly to avow that I was mistaken in the opinions I had formed [renewed cheering]. I have been convinced that too much was trusted to the forbearance of the sovereign power of this country; and seeing that my confidence has been misplaced, I must proceed with the measure which has been introduced [hear, hear]. The hon. member for Athlone (Mr. Keogh) has said that my former opinions, which have been so often quoted in the course of this debate, were expressed when I was out of office, and that I have nothing now to conciliate in the shape of public opinion in Ireland. I think I am certainly entitled to a little more credit for the motives by which am actuated from hon. gentlemen of the Roman Catholic faith. For fourteen years I sat in this House, and whenever I did give a vote on the subject I voted for the admission of Roman Catholics to Parliament. I did so, and I have felt at elections that it was at the expense of the confidence and the popularity which I might have obtained had I followed a contrary course. I did so at the time against the feelings of the prince on the throne, and against the voice of the great majority of the people of this country [hear, hear]. I did so, following the example of a man worthy of immortal honour, Henry Grattan, when the words Henry Grattan betokened great eloquence and great public service [loud laughter, in which Mr. Grattan heartily joined]. Sir, I went on in that conduct until 1829, when Sir Robert Peel introduced a bill for the admission of Roman Catholics to this House, and on the second reading of that bill Sir Robert Peel, with a candour and a manliness which did him the highest honour, said that the success of the measure was due to the exertions of

Fox, Grattan, and others who then sat opposite to the right hon. baronet [hear, hear]. He said that by them the measure had been carried, and by them the opposition which came from his own side of the House had been defeated. At a subsequent period, when Sir Robert Peel introduced the act for the endowment of Maynooth, there was a great amount of strong popular feeling excited in the country. Hon. members will recollect that many letters came up from our constituents couched in severe terms, and threatening that we should not again be elected if we voted for that bill [hear]. With very few exceptions, members of the Opposition supported that bill, and we were certainly the means of passing that measure. I think the conduct of my public life has been such that it is not becoming in Roman Catholic gentlemen to rise in this House and say that what I did in 1844 and 1845 was merely done to conciliate popular opinion [hear, hear]. I wish that Roman Catholics should have the full enjoyment of religious liberty, and political and civil liberty as well. I do not think that I should ever be induced to introduce a measure to prohibit entirely their mode of worship, according to their own belief, or to prevent them, in consequence of that belief, from obtaining any of the honours of the State [hear, hear]. But while I see what has been done, I will not be prevented by the cry of persecution from asserting the authority of the Crown and the independence of the State [loud cheers]. I do not think that we ought to submit to this, which I must again repeat is an insult to this country [cheers]. We should at least have a Parliamentary declaration on the subject, which should free us from the stigma and the shame of having submitted to have our country parcelled out as if it were a mere dependence of the Papal States [hear, hear]. We may do so without infringing, in the least degree, on the religious liberties of our Roman Catholic fellow subjects; and if in the discussion of this bill it can be shown that its provisions infringe on religious liberty, I shall be ready to discuss these objections and remove any words by which the worship of the Roman Catholics can be interfered with [hear]. With regard to what has fallen from the hon. member for Ayrshire, if the holy see had pleased to erect bishoprics and to make bishops for Catholics in communion with the Church of Rome—if the Pope's spiritual authority had been confined to Roman Catholics as the spiritual authority of the Free Church of Scotland is confined to its own members, we should not have had reason to complain; but we do complain, when, according to the letter of the document which the Pope has sent to this country, it is ordained that all baptized persons should submit to his authority [hear, hear]. I will not longer intrude on your notice at present. I trust that we shall be allowed to introduce this bill. In its future stages I shall be ready to defend it; and if I cannot defend the course I am now taking as entirely consistent with the declarations I made in 1844 and in 1845, I have this strong ground on which to proceed—that new and unexpected circumstances have arisen, and, in order to meet a new aggression, new measures have to be taken [loud cheers].

Mr. G. MOORE attempted, amid loud cries of "Divide, divide," to explain a misrepresentation of what he had said on a former evening. Mr. FAGAN and Mr. LAWLESS persisted, amidst increasing interruption, in speaking—the latter until the hand of the clock reached the hour, at which the House adjourned without any formal conclusion.

On Thursday, it was stated that the Chancellor of the Exchequer would make his statement on Monday instead of on Friday; and accordingly, on the latter day, the broken-off debate was resumed by the gentleman left speaking. Mr. FAGAN acknowledged that the subject had been exhausted; but his indignant constituents would expect him to say something upon it. He went over the ground taken by the other Irish members; adding a few novel remarks. So far from the restoration of the hierarchy being only a late object of anxiety with Roman Catholics, they had been most anxious about it ever since the time of Elizabeth, when one hundred priests were hung, drawn, and quartered. It was sought to introduce them in the reign of Charles II., but the horrors of the Popish Plot, and the perjuries of Titus Oates, rendered that time equally inauspicious. In the time of James II., the Catholics petitioned for a hierarchy, and James, called a Roman Catholic himself, was obliged to ask an explanation of the difference of the two systems. They would have had it then but for a transaction that happened shortly after [a laugh]. English Catholics had been increasing until the present time, when they were about a million, and required a considerable increase in the number of secular clergy—a want that could not be supplied under the system of vicars apostolic. If there had been an appearance of ostentation, Cardinal Wiseman was not to blame. His pastoral was published in the newspapers without his cognisance, and he had no desire that any of his pulpit addresses should be published; but the press, in its eagerness to publish everything relating to the subject, had sent reporters to St. George's Cathedral [hear, hear]. The appearance of aggression had arisen from the fact that the Pope was altogether ignored as a spiritual sovereign, merely recognised and dealt with as the ruler of a small state. The Pope was not allowed to delegate a clergyman as his representative in this country, but must appoint a layman, although the business of such a functionary must necessarily be of an exclusively religious character; and the Pope's jurisdiction was also essentially spiritual, and need not interfere with the temporal government of any country in which it was exercised.

Mr. F. PEARL remarked, that although the debate had now reached the fourth day, it was still somewhat immature—somewhat vague and discursive in the range of the topics it embraced. It was by no means his intention to anticipate the line of conduct he might feel it his duty to take in regard to the bill when it should come properly before them, ignorant, as he necessarily was, of its provisions, and the extent to which they went [hear, hear]; but there were points connected with the subject, and the manner in which it might be framed, to which he

was desirous of addressing himself. The noble lord had had, as he anticipated, the ill luck of satisfying neither side, so far as the lower end of the house was concerned; and he (Mr. Peel) did not wonder at the disappointment felt. But he must protest against the question being argued as though it had been prejudged by the sense of the country, however enlightened that general sense might be, as he conceived the duty of Parliament was something more than to endorse the sense of the country. He would not deny that there had been provocation [hear, hear]. He condemned as much as any man the unchristian and uncharitable, the arrogant and haughty tone which pervaded every line of the late pastoral address of the Cardinal, but at the same time he doubted whether it justified their interference by legal enactment—or if it did, whether any measure could be framed of a more binding and stringent character than that now proposed, without infringing on that which he believed it was the wish of every hon. member to maintain inviolate—viz., the sanctity of religious liberty in this country [cheers]. The bill of the noble lord, whatever might be its merits, certainly could not claim that of being a permanent and comprehensive settlement of the question [hear, hear]. That was not its merit, nor did it lay claim to it [“hear, hear,” from Lord J. Russell]. The Attorney-General had told the House that the only object of the measure was to provide a remedy for the specific offence which had been complained of. The course might be a very wise and sound one under the circumstances, but it would be very desirable if the position of the Roman Catholic clergy in this country in relation to the Government and the people generally could be placed on such a footing as would render it impossible that there should be a recurrence of that agitation and ferment to which the country had been recently subjected. In 1829, Parliament was aware that communications had always been carried on with the see of Rome by the members of the Roman Catholic Church in these islands—and in leaving the communication free and uncontrolled, they trusted to the good faith and loyalty of the Roman Catholic subjects—that it would not be made the means of political power or interference with the domestic concerns of this country. They dealt in the same way with the hierarchy of the court of Rome, trusting to the good sense of the Pope, that he would not consent to the nomination of persons to bishoprics who were disloyal or turbulent, or who had rendered themselves obnoxious to the Government of the day. That he (Mr. Peel) conceived to have been a wise and sound course [hear]; and he had heard with much satisfaction that the noble lord had no intention to interfere with the natural organization of the Church of Rome [hear]. There were two points upon which he felt strongly, and by which he should be guided in a great measure as to the course he should pursue—first, the position of the Roman Catholics in this country; and secondly, the constitution of the Catholic Church. With regard to the former, he did not go into the abstract question of law, for there was not much value to be attached to such considerations when they found the Government declining to prosecute, not because the law did not allow them to do so, but because that law was obsolete, and there had been no recent statutes to renew it. As to the constitution of the Church of Rome, it was essentially an episcopal one. If they prevented the order of episcopacy and prohibited the bishops, the hierarchy would be incomplete, and the liberty of our Roman Catholic fellow-subjects would be encroached upon [cheers]. The Roman Catholic bishop was not merely the depositary of some spiritual power, as the administration of sacraments or other directly spiritual functions—he was believed to have, by Divine institution, a power of governing the society, an ecclesiastical jurisdiction. They could not deny that some sort of ecclesiastical jurisdiction belonged to the bishops of the Roman Catholic Church [hear]. Every head of a society must have sufficient power to enable him to administer the concerns of that society. For 800 years the concerns of the Roman Catholics in this country had been administered by vicars-apostolic, under the constitution of Benedict IV.; but if a government of bishops in ordinary were necessary for the administration of the canon law, he saw no objection, no ground of complaint, to the Pope's constituting a diocesan form of government to administer that law [cheers]. He (Mr. Peel) was not yet satisfied whether that public law of Europe upon which the noble lord had borne so strongly, did not determine the relation between the court of Rome and the countries wherein the Roman Catholic religion was established, and whether the reciprocal rights and duties of clergy and laity were not fixed and guaranteed by law [cheers]. In that case it was obvious that foreign power could not interfere without the sanction of its Government [hear, hear]. But here was the difficulty and the evil of legislating on such subjects—go but a little way, and the act was impotent; make it something more than a dead letter, and they went too far [cheers]. The Attorney-General had informed the House that one consequence of this bill would be to prevent synodical action, and he believed the hon. and learned gentleman made that statement on the allegation contained in Cardinal Wiseman's celebrated appeal. But he (Mr. Peel) very much doubted whether it would be found that the resources of the Roman Catholic Church would be so easily exhausted, or that they would not find means to evade the provisions of the bill in that respect [loud cries of “Hear, hear, hear”]. As to the introduction of canon law, Lord Stowell, sitting as an ecclesiastical judge in the diocesan court of London, eulogized that law as a system deeply founded on the wisdom of man [hear, hear]. But the question was, what was the sanction of the

canon law in this country, and was the submission to the canon law, and to its provisions, merely voluntary? [hear, hear.] There was a great difference between the canon law and ecclesiastical law of this country, for instance; but we had incorporated the ecclesiastical law into our common law, and had authorized the civil courts to give effect and sanction to its decisions with reference to both. That difference destroyed the analogy which the hon. member for Oxford had instituted between the Roman Catholic bishops in England, and the appointment by permission of European consuls in Mahomedan states; in the latter case, the civil power of the country would enforce the jurisdiction of their foreign representatives—not so with the Papal prelates and the law of England. He (Mr. Peel) greatly questioned the policy of protecting the Roman Catholic laity of this country from the provisions of a code to which they only paid a voluntary submission [“hear, hear,” and cheers]. We had seen the bishops of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland meeting together for the purpose of nullifying, to the utmost of their power, that beneficent act of the legislature which afforded to the middle classes of that country an opportunity of giving to their children the advantages of education in every branch of literature and science, without exposing them to the slightest fear of having their faith or morals interfered with, so far as anything passing within the schools was concerned [hear, hear]. He condemned the impropriety of that interference, seeing that we had recognised education at last as the great moral agent—as the great security for the stability and permanence of our institutions. But if our object was to prevent synodical action, he greatly feared we had miscalculated our resources, and left the question out of view whether we should not hereafter want the ability to carry out that which we were desirous of effecting [hear, hear]. He felt almost satisfied that the only thing the House would do would be to afford one other illustration of how powerless was the heavy arm of temporal power in dealing with the voluntary submission of the mind—the imaginative sentiments, as they had been called, which rested in the breasts of the people [hear, hear]. He had one word to say upon the theological aspect of the question—

Unquestionably there has been a virtual denial, a non-recognition of the Church of England, and of its claims to be considered a branch of the Catholic church [hear, hear]. We have been told our bishops are no bishops, our clergy no clergy—that our services and sacraments have no more binding force or virtue than if they were so many civil ordinances or regulations of the State; and I have no doubt that a feeling of duty towards the Church has entered as an element of consideration into the minds of many persons in this country who have been recently viewing the whole of this case [hear]. Now, for my part, I do not desire to be influenced by any considerations of that kind. I do not wish to trust for the vindication of Anglican Protestantism to any act of Parliament [cheers]. I rely with much greater confidence upon the power of controversial writing [hear], and appeals to the good sense of the people [hear]—upon the power we have to demonstrate that the pretensions of the Church of Rome to a spiritual headship are without any warranty in Scripture, and are utterly opposed to it [cheers]. I take this course from no feeling of indifference to the Church of England, or to the extension of its influence. It is not, perhaps, an opinion shared in by many, but, nevertheless, I am impressed very strongly with the conviction that at no period—and this, too, owing, in a great measure, to the absence of legislative restrictions—at no period was the Church of England, notwithstanding the dissensions and differences which have been prevailing within her bosom; notwithstanding the efforts of those who are labouring to overlay the simplicity of the Prayer Book with ritual and ceremonial observances; the efforts of those who are labouring to give to the clergy the functions of a vicarial and mediatorial priesthood [hear, hear]—notwithstanding all this, I believe that the Church of England was never more firmly grounded in the affections of the great bulk of the English people than she is at this present moment [loud cheers]. I cannot look around me and see in every direction the unexampled unanimity, the hearty and zealous co-operation, with which the clergy and laity of the Church of England are exerting themselves to uphold and endow schools, to erect churches, to make new provision for the spiritual instruction of the people—it is impossible to see all this and shut our eyes to the conviction that the Church of England is well grounded in the affections of the English people [cheers]. Whatever may have been her past position, experience has shown that she can maintain her ground without the aid of artificial support placed around her for her protection and defence; and not merely that she can maintain her ground, but make way against rival denominations, and that she is daily drawing within her pale an ever-widening circle of the people of this country [cheers]. My firm impression is that the Church of England has nothing to fear from the assaults of the Church of Rome. The principles on which she is based, the sufficiency of the Scriptures alone, the right of every man to use his own judgment in their interpretation—these constitute for her a position which renders her unassailable, impregnable, to the assaults of the Pope [cheers]. I confess, in conclusion, that I see no reasons for abandoning that wise and prudent course of giving full toleration to every denomination; which the Church of England, with a true appreciation of her own interests, and with a wise insight into what was most conducive to her real interests, has tardily, though, as I believe, happily at last, consented to recognise. [The hon. gentleman resumed his seat amid loud and continued applause.]

Sir JAMES DUKE would have given a silent vote, but that he represented the City of London. He addressed himself, however, to the defence of his noble colleague from the charge of having raised political capital by his celebrated letter. He was out of the country when the letter appeared, but, on reading it, he immediately returned to England to ascertain what course the City of London and the public were taking on the question, and had care-

fully gone through the public papers to see what meetings had previously been held. He found that, so far back as the 14th of October, several meetings had called upon the Government to resist the aggression, and that these meetings had been continued up to the 24th of October. On the 23rd of October a letter was written from Exeter, to know whether the Government were aware of, or had encouraged, the appointment of Dr. Wiseman? On the 25th of October the clergy of Westminster met and addressed the bishop of the diocese. Then the inhabitants of the parish of St. George's met, and the London clergy also, and addressed the bishops. On the 28th of October, the secretary of the First Minister wrote in reply to the letter from Exeter, to the effect, that Lord John Russell had not concurred in, and that Lord Minto had not sanctioned, the appointment of Dr. Wiseman. On the 2nd of November, the great parish of Marylebone met in public vestry, and the parish of Stepney on the same day; and meetings were then announced to be held at Gloucester, Canterbury, Dover, Ramsgate, Margate, Deal, Southampton, and Worcester, and a meeting, attended by 2,000 persons, had been held at Reading. These had all been announced before the publication of the noble lord's letter, for that letter did not appear until the 7th of November [hear, hear]; but it, by a combination of parties, the noble lord should now be defeated, the feeling of the country would rally round him; and, in the language of his own splendid and magnificent speech in introducing the motion, would show him that they were determined to resist Papal aggression “at all points and with all their power” [laughter and cheers].

Mr. BAINE WALL expressed his regret at having to oppose a ministerial measure on its introduction, and his much greater regret that the noble lord had turned round upon the professions and habits of his public life. He wished he could even congratulate the noble lord that his bill would amount to a minimum of interference, but he was bound to declare, after having heard the speech of the Attorney-General, that it amounted to the maximum of persecution, because no persecution was so grating as that bit-by-bit persecution, the extent of which they were never to know, and which was to be dealt out to them according to the amount of mental reservation they displayed [hear, hear]. If they had much of mental reservation they were to have little persecution; if they were bold, honest, true, and faithful Catholics, then they were to have much [hear, hear]. The bill, if operative at all, would make every Catholic a Jesuit, and every priest a spy. Even as regarded England, unless the bill passed the House, not merely by a majority, but with something like unanimity, the noble lord would discover that he had entered on a dangerous experiment, and that he had, in taking his present course, consulted neither the safety of the state nor the peace of the country [hear, hear].

Mr. HAMILTON rose chiefly to defend his friend, Mr. Napier, from the strictures of Mr. Keogh. His hon. and learned colleague had no recollection whatever of having ever acted as secretary to a Brunswick Club.

Mr. KEOGH: Does he say that he was not? [loud cries of “hear, hear.”]

Mr. HAMILTON: Well, however that might be [laughter], it was certainly not the case that the Brunswick Clubs were established for the purpose of resisting the law of the land. His hon. and learned colleague did not act as secretary to a club established in 1829 for developing the resources of Ireland, and improving the condition of the people, and also for some political purposes. He added a few ordinary remarks in support of the proposed measure, urging that it be made effectual.

Mr. SAMPSON took up Mr. Keogh's assertion, and begged to ask distinctly—was the hon. and learned gentleman (Mr. Napier) ever secretary to a Brunswick Club in Ireland, or was he ever member of such a club? There could be no dispute whatever that the Brunswick Clubs had been illegal clubs, and that they were so regarded by public men in Ireland at the time. Much had been said as to the loss experienced in the death of that celebrated statesman who had struck their chains from the Catholics, and who now might have defended them. He (Mr. Sadleir) could not refrain from expressing his gratification that Sir Robert Peel had left a son who was a living pledge and security that the great principles of the act of 1829 should not be reversed. He congratulated his fellow-Catholics that they had in the senate a gentleman (Mr. F. Peel) so worthy of the name he bore, and so well fitted to follow out the statesmanlike career of him whose death the House and the country would long deplore. He (Mr. Sadleir) could point with pride to the calm disdain for the current infatuation which had been displayed by the mass of his Protestant and Presbyterian countrymen in Ireland. The great principle of Protestantism was to rely on the word of God alone, and to despise and to reject every statutory enactment, whether for the purpose of promoting or repressing a religion. That great principle had been set aside in the case of Ireland, and the melan- choly result was now confessed. The Established Church there had only succeeded in one respect—in implanting in the minds of the Catholic population of Ireland an ineradicable hatred of Protestantism; of which they were compelled to regard that Church as the representative. The noble lord was incapable, of course, of manufacturing a fact, but he had become the instrument of some party who had designedly advanced one of the most palpable mis-statements that had ever been heard, even from the Treasury benches. He had stated distinctly, that the greater amount of judicial patronage in Ireland was bestowed upon Roman Catholics, and had been since 1829. Now he (Mr. Sadleir) boldly asserted

that in Ireland an undue proportion of offices were held by gentlemen of the Protestant religion. He made that statement after a careful examination of the subject. Irishmen of every description and creed had been excluded in a most unfair manner from offices they had a right to hold in the public service. He asserted, moreover, that the spirit of the act of 1829 had not been carried out properly and practically by the Government. In the colonies Irish gentlemen were denied a fair share of the public patronage; no office seemed to be thought safe in their hands unless within one degree of the lowest. He could show that the patronage of this department had been so dispensed as to do justice neither to Presbyterian nor Catholic who was so unfortunate as to call Ireland his country. Lord Clarendon had professed to be guided by the principle of promoting only the meritorious; and it was because of that profession that Irish barristers felt greatly irritated and doubly insulted, when Protestant juniors were promoted above men of skill and standing. He (Mr. Sadler) would say to his Catholic fellow-countrymen at this juncture, that they needed to be vigilant and to be firm. They had a high and natural pride in belonging to a body so liberal and faithful—so active as Christians, and so loyal as subjects. One of the most distinguished Protestant divines had borne testimony to the fact, that the missionaries of the Catholic Church were to be found in every clime, scaling the ramparts of infidelity, and planting on its highest citadel the triumphant banners of their faith [hear]. The Catholics had won their present position by the dignified and honourable course of constitutional exertions [hear, hear]. It was not to the noble lord, or the isolated efforts of any individual or party, that they owed the legislative advantages they had won [hear]. They had subdued and overcome the spirit of religious interference by controlling their own passions; and by their dignified resignation, by their firm fortitude under years of persecution and oppression, guided by the energies, the unrelaxing efforts, the towering genius, the constitutional knowledge, the legal acumen, and undeviating allegiance and fidelity of their own O'Connell [hear, hear], had they gained their emancipation and the gradual resurrection of their country [hear]. And he would ask them to recollect the services they had rendered to the cause of religious freedom, and to bear in mind that the moment might be near at hand when they would be called upon to decide whether they would gradually sink down into a depression and insignificance greater and more obscure than any from which they had emerged, or be triumphantly conducted to national concord and permanent peace [cheers].

Mr. M. Gibson said that he had been in parliament since 1838, with a short interval, and that this was the first occasion on which he had been invited to embark on a policy involving the principles embodied in the proposition of the noble lord; and he might therefore be permitted to hesitate in taking that course without grave deliberation, and without being fully satisfied in his own mind. He had frequently been asked to aid in the removal, from some of his fellow-countrymen, of disabilities which had been laid upon them on account of their religious opinions; but he said again, this was the first time he had been invited to impose disabilities on account of such opinions [hear]. For what was the proposal of the noble lord? The noble lord invited him to join in passing a penal law against men who desired, by voluntary association among themselves, to support that form of ecclesiastical discipline which they believed to be the best calculated to promote the religion they professed [hear]. This was not a proposal on the part of the English Catholics to invest their religion with legislative authority, or to tax this country for the purpose of spreading the Roman Catholic religion. It was nothing of that kind; but a proposal from those who, he could hardly think, had any jurisdiction in the case, that Parliament should go out of their way to impose penalties upon a certain form of religious discipline. He could hardly think, after all, that it was intended to carry this measure out. There were various reports abroad tending to that impression. He had seen that morning a statement in the *Times*—a paper understood to shadow forth the views of the Government—to the effect that Ireland was to be left out of the bill [hear, hear]. Now, if Ireland was to be left out of the bill, or if there was any tacit understanding that the bill should pass, but not be enforced in Ireland, it appeared to him that it would be far better not to have put Ireland into the bill at all [hear, hear]. It appeared to him, further, very strange that the House should be invited to apply to the Roman Catholics of Great Britain and Ireland provisions which were not applied to Roman Catholics in the other portions of her Majesty's dominions. If it was so essential to prevent, by this law of pains and penalties, the episcopal organization of the Roman Catholics in this country, why was it not equally essential to prevent that organization in the colonies? [hear, hear.] Surely the interference of a foreign potentate was equally to be resisted in our possessions abroad as in the three kingdoms at home. It was impossible, he thought, to gainsay this proposition, and, therefore, when he found that the bill was only to apply to the United Kingdom, he felt that those who supported it must be insincere when they spoke of it as based upon temporal, secular considerations, having reference to the Queen's supremacy, and to the independence of the country. The House had been invited to come to the consideration of this question under feelings of insult and indignation. They were constantly told that, if they did not feel insulted and indignant, they ought to feel insulted and to be indignant [laughter and "hear, hear"]. Now, he himself

quite agreed with the Bishop of St. David's, that there had been no insult in the matter on the part of the Roman Catholics, and he therefore came to the consideration of the question perfectly free from excitement. They were also constantly told that those who supported this measure were the advocates of religious liberty; and it was said, "Don't be alarmed; the thing only looks like a penal statute on the face of it; if you scrutinize it you will find nothing of the sort in it; for, be assured, that gentlemen who have always advocated the broad principles of religious liberty would not support a law of pains and penalties on account of religion." This, however, was not the first time they had heard professions of religious liberty from men who were advocating penal laws. Nothing was more common on the part of those who advocated penal disabilities against the Roman Catholics in former times, on the very account of their religion, than to say, at the same moment, that they were the advocates of religious liberty, and that it was precisely for the sake of religious liberty that they desired to keep down the Roman Catholics and the Roman Catholic religion [hear, hear]. Lord Eldon, for example, a great authority in those times, used always to say that he should be the last man in the world to interfere with perfect freedom of conscience in any person, but that reasons of State policy made it necessary to exclude Roman Catholics from the enjoyment of equal civil privileges with other men, and that this was no infringement of religious liberty [hear, hear]. He, for one, therefore, should not be deterred from scrutinizing this measure narrowly, because its supporters talked about religious liberty. They were told that the country had taken the matter up in a spirit quite in accordance with the spirit of religious liberty, but, looking at the proceedings which had taken place in different parts of England, he did not find that absence of discussion as to the distinctive tenets of the Roman Catholic faith which was attributed to them; on the contrary, he found those differences distinctly put forward as reasons for enacting such a measure as the present [hear, hear]. Dr. Cumming would be admitted to be a great authority for the statement as to what was the ground on which the country demanded this law. What said Dr. Cumming? In one of his lectures against Papal aggression he distinctly said this:—"That the teaching of Cardinal Wiseman was the best reason of protest against his intrusion as Archbishop of Westminster." Take the opinion of the noble Premier himself. He held in his hand a letter signed by the noble lord, dated "Downing-street, November 1850," and printed for distribution at 5s. per hundred, by Westerton, Knightsbridge; printed, by the way, "against the act in that case made and provided," seeing that it was printed upon unstamped paper [a laugh], so that everybody who sold, or exposed to sale, or bought copies of the same, was liable for each offence to a penalty of £20 [laughter]; and in that letter the noble lord denounced the proceedings as an aggression of the Pope on our Protestantism; so that, according to the noble lord, not the power of the Queen was in peril, but only the "isms" [hear, hear, and a laugh]. Then there was Dr. McNeill, in his lecture at Exeter-hall—orthodox person and orthodox place, as the hon. member for Oxford University must fully admit. What said Dr. McNeill to the Duke of Manchester, in the chair, and the assembled audience?—

My Lord Duke, it is the bounden duty of British Christians to guard against domestic intercourse with Roman Catholics. If you allow domestic intercourse with Roman Catholics—if you allow your sons and daughters to become intimate with those of Roman Catholic, you cannot with a good grace, or consistently with your duty as parents, turn round, after allowing the intimacy, and forbid the marriage. If you object to such marriages it is your duty to draw up in time. It may sound very bigoted to separate man from man in the community, but I am persuaded that one-half of our misery has been traceable to this domestic intercourse with Roman Catholics. If, instead of the unclean thing being touched and fondled [great laughter], we had, as the apostle said, "come out from among, and been separate," much that is to be deplored would not have taken place. But you have fondled the unclean thing [laughter]—you have dallied with it—you have taken it to your breast [great laughter], until at length it has turned round and stung you.

These were the sentiments of a member of that State-church whose rights the House was called upon to vindicate, and for whom they were to create popular attachment by villifying and abusing persons of another religion [hear, hear]. But the noble lord, in that same letter which laid the foundation of all this movement—a movement which, by the way, he did not believe had at all reached the working classes [hear, hear]—had himself made a violent aggression upon Protestantism, and, by an exercise of private judgment extremely rash, to say the least of it, had, as Jove from his chair, issued a sort of divinity proclamation from Downing-street, deciding what was superstition and what was not [hear]. An authoritative, duly-constituted tribunal, had, only the other day, declared itself unable and incompetent to declare what was the doctrine of the Church upon a particular point—baptismal regeneration; yet the noble lord had not hesitated to send forth from Downing-street his proclamation touching superstition [hear, hear]. Suppose the noble lord, as Prime Minister, authorized to make such a proclamation, and to give it effect; on the same supposition, a Roman Catholic, not being precluded by the constitution from becoming Prime Minister, you might next year have a Roman Catholic Premier proclaiming that certain other things were superstitious, or you might have a Tractarian Prime Minister denouncing the Trinity itself as a superstitious notion [hear], the result of which proclamations might be very great national evils [hear, hear]. If there was one thing more than another incumbent upon those who had the administration of public affairs, it was that they should moderate and pacify the religious animosities which

might spring up in the country, and most carefully avoid anything calculated in the slightest degree to aggravate them [hear, hear]. It was quite preposterous, that because the members of the Established Church were quarrelling among themselves, the Roman Catholics, who had nothing to do with the quarrel, should have a bill of pains and penalties levelled against them [hear, hear]. The House was called upon to pass this law against our Roman Catholic fellow-subjects, on the ground that they had had bishops appointed over them in the only way in which they could be appointed over them, by the Pope; that these bishops had had districts assigned to them, the only course by which, as bishops, they could be made useful; and that these bishops, the only intelligible course open to them, had taken the names of the districts to which they had been appointed. The noble lord had made an unworthy use of the term "governed," which occurred in Cardinal Wiseman's apostolic letter. The term was one addressed solely to the Cardinal's own clergy, and to the faithful of his Church, not to the nation at large, and had no other meaning in that document than it had in all other similar documents—the spiritual jurisdiction, namely, conceded to him by those of his own religion who chose voluntarily to submit to that jurisdiction [hear]. They were now going to lessen the liberty given under the Emancipation Act [hear, hear]. If all the penalties in statutes were to be construed strictly, it was obvious, that inasmuch as there was a penalty of £100 for the assumption of titles already enjoyed by dignitaries of the Established Church, the assumption of other titles could not be considered to come within the restriction. Therefore, they would be taking a retrograde step in preventing the assumption of titles not forbidden to be taken by the Emancipation Act [hear, hear]. They were told much of the supremacy of the Crown—he knew of no supremacy in the United Kingdom but the supremacy of the law [hear, hear]; and, if the law were not broken, it was impossible the supremacy of the Crown could be infringed; because the prerogatives and acts of the Crown must be used and framed in a spirit of obedience to those laws [hear, hear]. Why, then, should these eternal complaints be heard, that the supremacy of the Crown was infringed, the rights of the Establishment invaded, the independence of the nation attacked? These expressions amounted, in his opinion, to clap-net. He could not understand how Dissenters, supporters of the voluntary principle, could consistently be advocates of this bill. As the noble lord was himself a supporter of a system of mixed instruction, it did not appear fair that he should attempt to raise a prejudice by alleging that Roman Catholic ecclesiastics interfered in the question of education in Ireland [hear, hear]. Would the noble lord name twelve bishops of the Protestant Church who would advocate the separation of secular from religious instruction? The noble lord quoted the opinion of M. Dupin on the Church of Rome. He (Mr. Gibson) would give the noble lord a French quotation also relating to the Church of England, which would form a sort of pendant to that of the noble lord. What did M. Guizot, a great Protestant, a great Protestant Reformer, say of the Church of England? He said, "The English Church is as corrupt as ever was that of the Church of Rome, and far more servile." The quotation was entirely provoked by that of the noble lord. The charge was, that an aggression had been made by the Church of Rome on England. Did English missionaries get no support, say, and in a physical sense, in making aggressions on foreign countries? An instance might be adduced of what looked much more like an aggression than the proceedings of the Pope. The *Overland Mail* of November 28, 1850, contained a paragraph stating—

In our last overland summary we referred to the difficulties at Fuh-chau, arising out of certain missionaries of the Church of England having obtained, and insisted on retaining, possession of a temple within the city, very much against the wishes of the people, who, in their excitement, threatened to destroy the building. Their violence, however, has been restrained for the time by the authorities, who appear to have acted with much prudence and decision; but, while exerting themselves to protect the missionaries from personal injury, they at the same time protest against the course pursued by the rev. gentlemen as both illegal and impolitic, and have issued several manifestoes on the subject, in one of which it is attempted to be shown, not altogether unsuccessfully, that they are acting in contravention of the treaty. We have now received copies of two of these documents, which, however, are too long for insertion at present. The missionaries, it is said, are acting in accordance with the instructions of Bishop Smith, who, as he proposes visiting Fuh-chau during his present cruise, may, after personal inquiry on the spot, be induced to modify them.

That looked like a physical aggression [hear, hear]—missionaries taking possession of a temple, a bishop making his cruise in a man-of-war [hear, hear]. The screw-sloop "Reynard" arrived at Shanghai on the 14th of October, conveying a communication from the British Government relating to the missionaries:—

Repeated complaints having been made to the British Government, it was arranged that a man-of-war should occasionally be despatched to look in upon Dr. Bettelheim at Loochoo, in order to afford him the countenance of the Government by whom he had been adopted.

Loochoo was an independent country. Dr. Bettelheim was a converted Jew, a native of Hungary, but a naturalized British subject.

The "Reynard" anchored in Napa harbour on the 3rd of October, and remained a week, during which time two or three interviews were held with the native authorities, both on shore and on board. It was deemed expedient to exclude Dr. Bettelheim from all share in the negotiations, and the Bishop of Victoria, who was on board, on his way to the northern ports (assisted in interpretation by his Chinese amanuensis Chun-chung, a Latin as well as Chinese scholar), is stated to have contributed materially to bring about the good results which it is hoped will follow from the firm yet conciliatory tone adopted.

Interviews took place between the viceroy and the commander of the vessel. At the last interview,—

It was deemed advisable for the officers of the "Reynard" to appear in full dress, attended by a guard of about fifty men,

who were marshalled opposite the guard of the mandarins. The various complaints by Dr. Bettelheim were made the subject of conversation, and explanatory papers were exchanged, but it was judged better to limit the proceedings as far as possible to the delivery of the intimation from the British Government, inculcating the necessity of better treatment of Dr. Bettelheim, among whose complaints one of the most serious seems to have been an assault on him by some police while engaged in his missionary duties. At the termination of the negotiations presents were exchanged, and the viceroy and other mandarins, in return for their hospitality, partook of an entertainment on board the "Keynard." She was the first steamer that had been seen there, and, though it was evident her arrival had made a considerable impression, her departure was probably regarded with entire satisfaction.

[Cries of "hear, hear"]. This was a description of aggression which ought not to be authorized. The noble lord did not like the interference of ecclesiastics in temporal and secular affairs. Cordially concurring in the opinion that the duties of those rev. gentlemen were to give religious consolation to their respective communities, he (Mr. Gibson) regretted that the noble lord had favoured the House in laying the groundwork of the argument in favour of the bill with the citation of only two authorities that bore on the matter in hand, and these were two ecclesiastics of the English Church. The noble lord had mentioned the Bishop of London and the Archbishop of Canterbury. His words were,—

What I propose is, in the first place, to prevent the assumption of any title taken, not only from any diocese now existing, but from any territory or any place within any part of the United Kingdom. That provision is in conformity with a proposition which was made by the Bishop of London in answer to one of the addresses which was presented to him. He said, that he thought that not only we ought to prohibit the assumption of any title or rank already existing in this country, but any title derived from any place in the United Kingdom. Therefore I have agreed with that suggestion. Perhaps I may mention, that when I informed the Archbishop of Canterbury that it was not intended to institute a prosecution, he said, "I did not expect that the Government would institute a prosecution, but what I do expect is that some legislation should take place upon this subject."

[Hear, hear.] To go to Dr. Blomfield, enjoying an elevated position at his ease, surrounded with all the pomps and vanities of the world, and not being exempt, undoubtedly, from the infirmities of human nature, desirous to stand alone in his glory—to ask him what sort of indignity was to be thrown on Dr. Wiseman, or to ask even Dr. Sumner, the Archbishop of Canterbury, was a remarkable proceeding. If ever there were temporal affairs with which ecclesiastics ought not to interfere, this was one of all others in which they ought not to have meddled; for it would be imputed to them, whether guilty or not, that they were acting from jealous feelings, and from a desire to maintain an ascendancy of their own. Would the noble lord have thought of applying to Dr. Wiseman in a case where proceedings were to be taken against Dr. Blomfield? The subject ought to be dealt with, not under the advice of ecclesiastics of the Established Church, but as a national question, and legislation upon it ought to be based purely on secular considerations as to what was best calculated to promote the peace, happiness, and harmony of all classes of her Majesty's subjects [hear, hear]. Hon. members must often have observed a clause inserted in acts of Parliament, to the effect that "this act may be amended or repealed during the present session." Such a clause he would have put into the bill:—"And be it enacted that this act may be broken with impunity during the present and all future sessions of Parliament" [hear, hear, and laughter]. For he was persuaded, however the noble lord might have changed his opinion with respect to the puerility of legislation against the assumption of titles, and for preventing communications with Rome, that the law now proposed would be nugatory, and was only calculated to produce great irritation; that it had been well described by the hon. member for Buckinghamshire as "a piece of petty persecution;" and he, for one, if he were never to give another vote in that house, would use his utmost exertions to resist the passing of this bill [cheers].

Mr. C. BAUX disputed the correctness of Mr. Oswald's analogy between the Church of Rome in England and the Free Church of Scotland; and denied that the Scotch had been quiescent. He went on to say that the speech of the noble lord, on introducing this bill, was worthy of the Protestant Minister of a Protestant Sovereign, but that the conclusion of that speech was lame and impotent. The noble lord must go further than he had done [hear, hear]. He must not content himself with merely prohibiting titles; he must render penal the introduction of bulls and rescripts [cheers, and oh, oh!] He must put down by law all monkeries, black, white, or gray, or whatever colour they might be [a laugh].

Mr. FOX MAULE remarked, in reply on behalf of the Ministry, that the two last speakers indicated the two dangerous extremes between which they had had to steer. Addressing himself to the arguments of the hon. member for Manchester, he said, that House had higher duties to perform than those connected with taxation. It had to maintain the Protestant constitution of the country as established by those unwritten laws and customs that had come down from our forefathers, and which they were bound to deliver as a sacred trust to those that came after them [cheers]. The right hon. gentleman had endeavoured to distract the attention of the House by misrepresenting the noble lord at the head of the Government, as issuing a certain letter in which he endeavoured to instruct the country in spiritual and ecclesiastical doctrines. Now, his noble friend did no such thing. In all that referred to anything ecclesiastical, he quoted almost *verbatim* the words of the Bishop of London [hear, hear]. And his noble friend had been charged with having taken counsel with the Bishop of London and the Archbishop of Canterbury before he introduced his measure; but he distinctly denied both these allegations. He

gathered from the writings of the Bishop of London what his views were on the subject, and in framing his measure neither he nor his colleagues were aided by the advice of any ecclesiastical authority whatever [hear, hear]. He denied that the Free Church secession bore any comparison to the appointment of prelates in England by the Pope; it was one of the saddest as well as noblest of events, and had better not be recalled to mind. He defended the consistency of his colleagues; and for himself he should give his vote fearless of what might be said of him. He had provided for Catholic soldiers (and they were no small number in our army) having the full enjoyment of the ordinances of their Church—he had proved himself no bigot. With no feeling of hatred to his Catholic fellow-countrymen, and with proper respect for their religious sentiments, he should do his duty as became a sincere and loyal Protestant, a member of the Legislature, and a servant of the Sovereign [hear, hear].

Mr. SOULLY reminded the House how Lord John's expressions, "mummeries" and "superstitions," had run through the country, and of what vile speeches his letter had been the inspiration. He hoped that the Irish clauses would be expunged, or they might kindle in that country a flame never to be extinguished except with blood, anarchy, and confusion.

Colonel SIBTHORP would not interpose to delay the division except while just to state that not placing the slightest confidence in the Government [a laugh], he yet could not oppose the bringing in of this bill. He owed a duty to his Sovereign, in whose attachment to the Church and constitution he placed implicit reliance, and who had committed the subject in her speech to the consideration of Parliament.

Mr. MUNTZ would not oppose the introduction of the bill; he felt inclined to say, "a plague on both your churches!" but he would give the measure an impartial consideration. There was one remark which he must be permitted to make, that he had searched history in vain to find a single instance of any country where the Roman Catholic religion prevailed in which the people enjoyed real liberty [loud cheers].

Mr. BROTHERTON said he had taken no part in the agitation out of doors, nor did he intend to take any part in this debate; but both the hon. members for Manchester had placed him in rather a painful position. They knew that the towns of Manchester and Salford were intimately connected, and that they were, in fact, one and the same constituency. Now, he had reason to believe that the sentiments which had been expressed by those two hon. members were not the sentiments of that constituency [loud cheers]. He would not yield to either of his hon. friends in a desire to advocate every measure calculated to promote civil and religious liberty. He had never given a vote against civil and religious liberty being enjoyed by any class of her Majesty's subjects. But the grounds on which he considered it to be his duty to vote for the introduction of this bill were these,—that from the opinions of the most eminent lawyers, and of the most enlightened statesmen, and from the sentiments expressed by the community at large, it did appear that in this instance the rights of the Sovereign had been infringed, and the liberty and independence of the nation assailed. He did not consider this to be a religious question, but one which affected her Majesty's prerogative, and the rights and liberties of her Majesty's subjects [cheers]. He was not called upon to defend the Established Church, or to say one word against the Roman Catholic religion; though neither was he required to speak in favour of the Pope, in order to destroy the Established Church [cheers and laughter]. But he consented to the introduction of this bill, bearing in mind what was avowed by the noble lord, that it was not his intention to infringe upon the civil or religious rights of any class of her Majesty's subjects; and believing that he was acting in obedience to the sentiments of the great majority of his constituents [cheers]. He gave no opinion as to whether the measure should extend to Ireland; but he believed that in assenting to the introduction of the measure into this country he was acting equally in accordance with the feelings of the Roman Catholics in England ["Oh!" and cheers]. He would enable the House to judge as to the right he had for entertaining this opinion. He had received several letters from Roman Catholics of great influence in Manchester and Salford. There were, in fact, no persons who exercised greater influence than they did in both boroughs. They were the constituents of his hon. friends as well as of himself. The letter ran thus:—"I feel considerable interest in the matter, and am confident that unless Government will protect us, all our charity land and all other property given to our charities, will pass into the sole control of the Court of Rome [cheers]. As an Englishman, I seek to have our charities administered according to the laws of our own country, and not by a foreign Court and under foreign laws" [cheers]. The vote, therefore, which he was now about to give would be given from a conviction that he was voting in favour of the civil and religious liberties of the Roman Catholics, and in the firm belief that the bill would not be an infringement of the religious rights of any class of her Majesty's subjects [cheers].

Mr. SCHOLEFIELD and Mr. FEAROUS O'CONNOR expressed their intention to vote against the motion.

The House then divided, and the numbers were—

For the introduction of the bill	395
Against it	63

Majority for introducing the bill.. 332

Lord JOHN RUSSELL stated that he should move the second reading on Friday se'nnight (the 28th). Mr. P. HOWARD wished to fix it for next Monday se'nnight, but the House accepted Lord John's proposal.

THE RELIEF OF AGRICULTURE.

The debate on Mr. Disraeli's motion was resumed on Thursday by the Marquis of GRANBY, who contended that after five years' trial of a new commercial policy the landed interest was in a worse position than when it began. In the Royal Speech of last year the sufferings of the much-abused agricultural interest were described as complaints. This year that suffering was acknowledged; and if the motion of his hon. friend should be rejected, perhaps next session the agricultural body would be spoken of as the late and much-lamented agricultural interest [a laugh]. Taking the quantity of wheat raised yearly at 24,000,000 quarters, and the depreciation at nearly 20s. a quarter, it amounted to about £24,000,000; the depreciation upon the whole corn crop was no less than £60,000,000. In this state of things, they asked the House not to reverse its late policy, but to see whether it could remove burdens always unjust, but which, under existing conditions, had become intolerable. The Chancellor of the Exchequer did not say the proposition was unjust, but alleged the difficulties of acceding to it. But the class who asked relief had not created the difficulties; those who had were bound to find a remedy. As to the diminution of pauperism, the reduction on the cost of maintaining paupers amounted only to 10 per cent., whereas, if the Chancellor of the Exchequer's statements as to the number of paupers were correct, the reduction should amount to 30 per cent. [hear, hear]; and it appeared that there had been an actual increase in the number of paupers in Scotland in the year ending September 1850, as compared with the preceding year, of 4,000. The Poor-law tables were published in so confused a form, that it was next to impossible to draw correct conclusions from them. To arrive at a just conclusion relative to the diminution of pauperism, information was required upon three points—first, what had been the amount of emigration; secondly, the number of persons employed on the roads; and thirdly, the number employed by means of private subscriptions. He had made some inquiry upon two of those points in the parishes nearest to his residence, and the results were as follow:—In the first parish the number employed on the roads was two, emigrated 20; in the second parish, four were employed on the roads, 12 emigrated; third parish, two on the roads, eight emigrated; fourth parish, three emigrated; fifth parish, 18 on the roads, 20 unemployed, 10 emigrated; sixth parish, five on the roads, a large number would be unemployed were it not for the drainage now being carried on [hear, hear], and a great number had emigrated. Landlords were draining now to an immense extent, in order to furnish employment to labourers, who would otherwise be thrown upon the poor-rate [hear, hear]. He doubted whether the labourer was better off than under protection, and whether he would not prefer high-priced corn with a high rate of wages. He believed that other interests were not so flourishing as Sir C. Wood had represented, and he was convinced that the Legislature would be obliged, sooner or later, to return to a system of protection, admitting the principle that for every tax imposed upon the home producer an equivalent tax must be laid upon the foreigner.

Sir JAMES GRAHAM immediately rose, and with him several other members, all of whom at once gave way. He joined issue with the noble Marquis on the two propositions which he had made—first, that the great body of the working classes had profited by our recent legislation; and, secondly, that the restoration of protection would be found expedient. Declaring that by sympathy and interest he was himself pledged to defend the farmer and guarantee the stability of rent, and admitting that the depreciation in price was greater in extent and longer in duration than he had anticipated, the right hon. baronet pronounced the condition of the labourer to be by far the most important branch of the question. Embarking on this subject, he quoted the diminished number of able-bodied paupers relieved during the past year, the augmented revenue from articles of common consumption, and the multiplication of all kinds of industrial produce, as tests of general well-being. The noble marquis had referred to Scotland; but he must have fallen into a great error with respect to the increase of pauperism there; for in 1850 the number of casual poor had so far diminished as to be less than it had been in any other year since the Poor Law Amendment of August, 1845, came into operation [hear, hear]. He should not have been surprised nor sorry to hear that there had been some increase in the sums paid, because he always thought the measure of relief dealt out to the poor of Scotland somewhat scanty. But leaving that, Sir James proceeded to say:—

So far from there being an increase, it appears "that from 1845, when the recent act came into operation, and for at least ten years previous to that date, the expenditure on account of relief to the poor, exclusive of other charges, has exhibited a constant annual increase till the year ending May 1850, when for the first time it has so far decreased as to be £22,695 less than that of the preceding year, and £9,032 less than that of the year ending May 1848" [hear, hear]. But that is not all. It appears further, that the number of registered poor relieved during the year ending May 1849, was 108,000; and during the year ending May 1850, 101,000, showing a diminution of 6,000; that the number of poor who died, or ceased to receive relief, in the year ending May 1849, was 24,000, and in the year ending May 1850, nearly 23,000, showing a decrease of about 1,000; that the number of poor on the register in May 1849 was

82,000, and in May 1850, 79,000, showing a decrease of 3,000; and that the number of casual poor—one of the heaviest charges in Scotland, arising from the immense amount of immigration from Ireland—the number of casual poor relieved during the year ending May 1849, was 95,000, and in the year ending May 1850, 53,000, showing a diminution of 42,000 [hear, hear].

The amount of exports and imports had vastly increased, the unparalleled value of the former having risen to seventy millions sterling. From the shipping returns he deduced a proof that the repeal of the navigation laws had not materially damaged the British shipowner. But highest among the proofs of prosperity, he reckoned the enormous importation of corn, which must have largely increased the quantity of food consumed. The member for Carlisle (Mr. Hodgson) had spoken of the distress of the weavers of that district; but, said Sir James,

The hon. member omitted to inform the House what is the peculiar character of the cotton trade in Carlisle and its vicinity. He did not tell us that it is a hopeless competition between handloom weaving and machinery [hear, hear]; and I remember stating before a circumstance which makes this competition peculiarly unfortunate—that this handloom weaving, struggling thus, as I believe, in vain against machinery, is embarrassed by this peculiar difficulty—that it is the manufacture into which the largest quantity of raw cotton enters. It is a heavy cotton containing the largest quantity of the raw material. It happens most unfortunately that the price of raw cotton has greatly risen, and the employers of handloom weavers have been increasing their power of machinery to meet the difficulty, and in order to encounter the high price of cotton are passing from handloom weaving to the greater use of power-looms [hear, hear]. This is a peculiar circumstance of recent origin, but I have always felt and thought that the days of handloom weaving were all but numbered, and that the struggle with the power-looms must end in defeat. But this is a question of the price of cotton, and, strange as it may be, it opens out a ray of hope even to the landed interest. Whence does this ray come? Why, it comes from the quarter whence they least expected it:—

Via prima salutis,
Quod minime reris, Gratia panditur ab urbe.

It is from the mills of Messrs. Bright and Co. [cheers and laughter]. It is from Rochdale that this light of hope opens on the landed interest [cheers]. Hopes are entertained—confident hopes—that by a new management of flax stalk it may be used in large proportions with great advantage and diminution of cost in mixture with cotton wool, sheep's wool, and even with silk wool [hear, hear]. And, Sir, for my part, I cannot conceive any dispensation of Providence more merciful than that science and skill should succeed in overcoming this difficulty, whereby we should be rendered in a great degree independent of foreign supply, while a great stimulus would be given to our manufactures; and if, happily, this encouragement to the cultivation of flax here should succeed I am very confident we shall hear no more of the distress of those handloom weavers, and that the cultivation of land will be largely improved by the introduction of capital in growing this new plant, and that this plant will be of peculiar service to the agriculturist from its being peculiarly adapted to increase the fertility of the soil [cheers].

Returning to landlords and farmers, he stated from his own experience as a landlord, and that of his neighbour landlords, that farms were not thrown up, nor rents in arrear to any greater extent since than before the repeal of the corn laws. He remarked, also, that a new class of competitors—retired shopkeepers and small merchants—now appeared in the demand for land, that enclosures had not diminished, and large areas, amounting in one case (on the eastern coast) to nearly half a county (800,000 acres), were now being reclaimed from the waste. After commenting upon the diverse surfs that had been successfully fixed as the "remunerating price" of wheat, he showed that, under protection, the oscillations had not been less severe than they were now, and asserted, in most decided language, the impossibility of returning to artificially-augmented prices.

I will not venture to make any prediction with respect to the price of corn in future, but this I say, that, be the price what it may, the time has arrived when it must be left to its natural level, and that for any Government or for any Legislature artificially, and by power of law, to enhance it—I say the day is past [cheers]. And why do I say so? I say there is not a ploughboy who treads the heaviest clay in England who does not feel practically his condition improved within the last three years—and he knows the reason why [cheers]. I tell you there is not a shepherd on the most distant and barren hill of Scotland who does not now have daily a cheeper and a larger mess of porridge than he ever had before—and he also knows the reason why [renewed cheering]. I tell you again there is not a weaver in the humblest cottage in Lancashire who has not fuller and cheaper meals, without any fall in his wages, than he had before—and he knows the reason why [continued cheers]. Now I must tell you the whole truth. The time has arrived when the truth fully must be spoken [cheers]. I will speak of another class still. There is not a soldier who returns to England from abroad that does not practically feel that his daily pay is augmented, that he has a cheeper, larger, and a better mess, and that he enjoys greater comforts—and he also knows the reason [loud cheering]. Now, Sir, I entreat my hon. friends who sit below me to be on their guard. You may convulse the country—you may endanger property—you may shake our institutions to the foundations ["hear, hear," from Lord J. Russell, and cheers from the Government benches]; but I am satisfied that there is no power in England which can permanently enhance by force of law the price of bread [renewed cheering]. Now, that is my honest and firm conviction. The peace of this country, my own possessions, are as dear to me as to any hon. gentleman who sits on the benches below me; but I feel we have arrived at the period when it is necessary to speak the truth, and I have spoken it without reservation [loud cheering].

He admitted that this was a question of taxation—of a mode in which to raise the revenue with the least burden on the people: it was also a question whether capital or labour should be taxed. To per-

mit our own agriculturists to raise beetroot and tobacco, while maintaining the duty on colonial and foreign sugar and tobacco, would be protection; and so with other of Mr. Disraeli's propositions. That gentleman had also spoken of facilitating partnership in land; from which Sir James—from the experiment of Mr. O'Connor—did not expect much. As to the alteration of the law of settlement, he was glad that a measure would be introduced; but from a national poor-rate and the commutation of tithes he had no hope. The former measure would be socialist—"socialism in its worst form." As to the latter—

The less the landowners say on this subject the better [a laugh]. I, as a landowner, am entirely satisfied with the bargain we have made [hear, hear]. We had before the Tithe Commutation Act passed an ugly coparcener in the soil [a laugh], who, contributing nothing of industry or capital, yet shared in all the produce of that industry and the profits of that capital. That growing claim to the increasing value and produce of the soil was cut short and ousted by what was certainly a very stringent, and, as I thought, very politic measure. But what was the effect? I think that the poet's advice to the domestic chaplain—

Stick to thy pudding, friend,
And hold thy tongue

[a laugh], is applicable to us. The parson was not well pleased with the act, but the country gentleman has every reason to be pleased with it. The parson in future shares in a fixed and immutable quantity, however much increased the amount of produce may be. He gets no share in any increase in quantity, and yet he shares in the diminished value of that quantity, through the fall in the price of wheat [hear, hear]. My advice to the hon. gentleman is, then, to let the Tithe Act remain untouched [hear, hear].

Nor would he encourage the hope of any alteration in the Banking Act. Regarding Mr. Disraeli's motion as really a step towards the restoration of protection, he gave his reasons for resisting it in a very impressive peroration.

I see very plainly that we are on the eve of a great and serious struggle [hear, hear]. I see a party of gentlemen in this and the other House of Parliament, powerful in numbers, powerful in the respect in which they are held for their personal and hereditary virtues, having great influence in the country and great possessions. They are an interest which up to the present moment has commanded great influence with the Government, and, with the main body of the community at their back, they exercise a power upon any question that is irresistible. This powerful party have in this house no insignificant leader. The hon. gentleman (Mr. Disraeli) is the accredited leader of that party. I may say that very early I appreciated the great talents of that gentleman [loud cheers], and the time has arrived when it is impossible to underrate or undervalue his great and commanding ability as a debater in this House [cheers]. The leader of this party in the other House, Lord Stanley, is a noble lord ever foremost in the battle, of dauntless courage, of eminent ability, and of spotless character [hear, hear]. I have stood beside him in the fray, and I know how formidable is his vigorous attack, and the breadth of his protecting shield.

Experto credite, quantus
In clypeum assurgat, quo turbine torqueat hastam.

[cheers]. With such opponents it behoves us to gird up our loins [cheers]. I know not whether the watchword "Up, Guards, and at them!" may not already have been given [laughter and cheers]. It is clear to me that the opponents of protection must prepare for a severe conflict. They must stand upon the defensive. They must stand to their arms, and close their ranks, and prepare for a firm, manly, and uncompromising resistance [loud cheers]. There is one point to which I wish to advert, but my heart is so deeply grieved that my tongue refuses its office. The author and the champion of that policy which I think it is the tendency of this motion to reverse has been withdrawn from us. He has ceased from his labours, and is at rest. He no longer shares in the angry strifes and conflicts of this House. But, although dead, he still speaks, and from the tomb I hear the echoes of his voice. I well remember the memorable words that closed the peroration of the magnificent speech which he delivered last session:—"I still adhere to the opinions I have expressed, and I earnestly hope that I may never live to see the House of Commons retrace its steps." He is gone, and may the sentiment he expressed, that the House of Commons should never retrace its steps, be verified! [cheers]. My voice may be feeble, and my power insignificant. But, Sir, my part is taken. I hold it to be a simple duty and a sacred trust to defend that policy to the best of my ability; and, as a proof of my sincerity and my earnest determination, I give my unhesitating vote against this motion. [The right hon. baronet resumed his seat amid loud and protracted cheering.]

Again several gentlemen rose simultaneously to address the House, but the precedence was awarded, according to Parliamentary courtesy, to a new member—Mr. BOOKER, whose maiden speech boldly controverted the assertions of prosperity even among other classes than the agriculturist. The revenue was falling off; its boasted expansion within the past ten years was less than should have arisen from the increase of population; British shipping had declined; the exports were not paid for, and the home trade was in a very consumptive state. He warned gentlemen opposite, in the words of the great Lord Erskine—"Vain are all your hopes for your suffering country; for you might as well expect to see the tree flourishing in full vigour when its root was perished or decayed, or the human body in action or motion when palsy had reached the heart, as to see trade, or commerce, or manufactures of any description flourish when agriculture has declined" [hear, hear].

Mr. LABOUCHERE followed on the other side in a speech replete with statistics; explaining that the iron trade was suffering a temporary collapse from the inordinate prosperity of the railway demand, he dwelt at length on the effect of the repeal of the navigation laws. The amount of British shipping employed in the home trade had very slightly, if at all, diminished, while new channels for employment

were opened, and had proved largely available. The shipbuilders were also prospering; last year showed an improvement in the tonnage, and still more in the quality, of the ships that were built in private dockyards, and the activity now prevailing promised a yet better result for the current twelvemonths.

Mr. CATLEY, Colonel DUNNE, Viscount JOSELYN, and Mr. BAILEY COCHRANE supported, and Mr. CARDWELL opposed, the motion.

Mr. CORDEN did not know that, after the able, comprehensive, and exhaustive speech of Sir J. Graham, he would have found it necessary to say a word, were it not that the hon. member for Buckinghamshire went upon the assumption that in repealing the corn-laws they had agreed that certain prices should thereafter be obtained for corn [hear, hear]. As he (Mr. Corden) had some share in the long, wearisome discussions that took place on this question, he must be allowed to enter his protest, not only for himself, but in the name of the country, against any such doctrine [hear, hear]. He was prepared to say, that during the whole of those discussions he never so much as offered an opinion as to what the price of corn would be [oh, oh]. If gentlemen would only use the industry of looking back through the records of his opinions, they would find no such statement, and he challenged them to bring evidence of his having done so. He had said again and again that he did not care what the price of grain was so that they had it at the natural price of the world's market. They had that price now, and he was contented, and so was the country. Having put that protest against any assumption of compensation, he would ask what proof they had shown that those two classes who had been singled out, the landowners and farmers, had suffered in consequence of the repeal of the corn-law? [hear, hear.] He did not believe there had been, one, with another, a reduction of ten per cent. on rents [hear, hear]. But, even if they had suffered reduction of ten per cent. on their rents, were they the only class of the community who had suffered during the last three or four years? Had those whose capital was invested in mines and railroads suffered nothing during that time? Had not the iron trade—say, and some branches of the cotton trade—been suffering also? [hear, hear.] No doubt the cases of the farmers had been various. On cold clay lands there might have been distress, but on other farms, and especially those near to towns where potatoes and other produce were easily disposed of, farming had not been an unprofitable business [hear, hear]. Why were the shopkeepers, the professional men, and the manufacturers, to have their sufferings ignored by the House, and be called upon to bear the burdens that now fell equally with themselves upon the landowners and the farmers? [hear, hear.] Did honourable gentlemen intend to increase the property-tax, or the taxes on articles of consumption? [hear, hear.] They were all mute when he asked these questions. While they proposed to take off £5,000,000 or £6,000,000 from the shoulders of the landowners and farmers, they had not fixed on whom to place the burden. But he could tell them there was nobody in the country who would bear an increase of taxation; and, if there was one thing more certain than another it was that no Government could make a transfer or shifting of taxation. They were merely losing time if they hunted after such chimeras as these. The only way by which they could mitigate the pressure was by reducing the whole amount of their expenditure; yet not one gentleman on the other side had proposed the slightest reduction in the public expenditure [hear, hear]. Let them only look to the colonies, and see what absolute waste there was there, and then let them come with a rational proposal for their reduction, and thus administer relief, not only to agriculturists, but to all other classes [hear, hear]. For three years they had deluded farmers with the idea of protection, and now it was said protection was not wanted. After those three years of mystification it was now proposed that the farmers should be deluded for three years more—or until the dissolution of Parliament—by the cry of adjustment of taxation, and by that means prevented from entering into arrangements with their landlords that might enable them to enjoy prosperity even under free trade. Nine-tenths of the difficulties of the agriculturists were capable of being removed by arrangements between landlord and tenant. There was not more than one-tenth of those difficulties which the House could deal with. Did they not think they would benefit the farmers by altering the mode of tenure and giving them leases? [no, and laughter.] What would the Scotch farmers say when they read that? He spoke of leases as a necessary condition of good farming, and it was met by a roar of laughter! [laughter repeated.] Could anything more completely justify his statement, that the agriculturists did not look to the means by which they could benefit themselves? [hear, hear.] Did not hon. gentlemen suppose that they would improve the condition of tenants by altering the game laws? [oh, and laughter.] Ah! they did not understand the farmers' mind after all. Farmers never laughed when you spoke of game to them. It was stated in evidence before the committee moved for by the hon. member for Rochdale, that where game was preserved, not to excess, but in an ordinary way, it cost a farmer as much as all the local rates and government rates [laughter]. The law of distraint likewise operated injuriously to the farmer, by giving the landlord a preferable claim over the goods of the tenant; and an alteration of that law would increase the amount of capital which the tenant would expend on his land. A change in the law relating to the transfer of land would also be attended with benefit; for, by facilitating the transfer of land, you would not only raise its value, but increase the number of landlords, and thereby cause a demand

for additional labour. The hon. member for Buckinghamshire told the farmers that twelve or thirteen millions of revenue were raised upon agricultural produce. Could the farmers believe that they paid the duties on tobacco, beer, and gin? Why, he would venture to say, that a coal-porter on the banks of the Thames paid more malt-tax than any farmer. It was the man who consumed beer and gin, not the man who raised the barley, that paid the tax [hear, hear]; and the farmer was the man who was not represented in that House. On that ground especially—that the classes whom the proposition chiefly concerned were almost entirely unrepresented—he adjured the House not to consent to the motion.

Mr. MOORE avowed his intention of opposing the motion on grounds exclusively Irish. He entreated the Irish members not to assist by their votes that night in maintaining in power a Ministry who had absolutely stepped out of their path of duty to insult their religion; who had excited the rancour and hate of a deluded people against it [cries of Oh!]—yes, but it was true, though [hear]; and who had declared that it was their purpose to introduce a series of vexatious measures of bit by bit persecution, with a view of preventing its development. [Oh!]

Lord JOHN RUSSELL assured the House that if nothing more than the embarrassment of his Ministry were to be feared from the success of this motion, he would not add to the speeches against it. The danger of attempting to restore abrogated protection was the leading idea of the noble lord's speech, and after going over the ground taken by Sir James Graham and other speakers, he resumed and dwelt upon it with much earnestness:—

I am apt, with respect to these questions, to consider the political fully as much as the commercial and social interests involved, and I always thought it was a most dangerous proposition with regard to the corn laws, that those who directed discontent against Parliament on this subject should have it in their power to say nearly the whole of the House of Lords, and a great portion of the House of Commons, are composed of men who themselves are landlords, who are interested in this question, and who are making you pay their incomes out of the exertions of your industry [hear]. But that danger would be multiplied tenfold if, after protection was repealed, you should attempt to reimpose it. The most wild of Chartists could wish for no better topic than to be able to say to the people,—"Look at your Parliament, look at your House of Peers, and at your House of Commons! They are making a difference in the price of corn which (as the noble lord, the Marquis of Granby, stated to-night) would amount to no less than £60,000,000, and which another hon. member said amounted to £55,000,000. They are making you pay this immense sum in order to add to their incomes." I do hope, Sir, the House will consider that dangerous aspect of the question before they again set loose for public agitation a matter of importance so great. No one, who has well considered the events of the last two years, will deny that the abrogation of the corn laws has tended most materially to the tranquillity of the country, or that, when the people might have been induced, by the example of revolutions in almost every country on the continent, to follow that example, they have been induced to refrain by seeing that the legislature was not indifferent to their welfare. I beg of you not to reverse that lesson. Those great questions of government,—the question of absolute government on one side and of liberty on the other,—are not yet settled, and may be determined in favour of one party or of the other. You may see absolute government restored to its former state; you may see a democratic revolution, at least for a time; but, whatever may be the result, I should be most grieved if I thought the great mass of the people of this country were induced, by the restoration of laws which enhance the price of food, to consider that, by imitating the example of the democracies on the continent, they could gain any advantage which they could not now obtain, or increase the prosperity they are deriving from the ancient institutions of this country [hear, hear]. The right hon. baronet has alluded, with that feeling which became him, to the loss we have sustained in the death of a great statesman, who began this course of legislation; and, without ever having been a friend of his, I hope I may be permitted to show his friends that I am not indifferent to his fame [cheers]. Love of fame—that "last infirmity of noble minds," belonged to him as to others. He did wish that his name should be hallowed in the gratitude of his country, and I, for my part, could wish that, while I am consolidating the present interests of this empire, I may be providing for his fame in future generations [cheers]. That fame can only be sufficiently secured by the permanence of the policy with which his name is identified, and to which he was able to induce you to agree. I can assure the House that no consideration respecting the position or the fate of the Government affects me nearly so much as the fear I should have of seeing that policy reversed. My belief is that the owners and occupiers of land in general would then be induced to turn their attention from those plans for the improvement of the soil which they are now, to their great credit, pursuing, to a political course, which could only end in disappointment [hear]. I believe that the mind of the country in general would be irritated against its institutions, and that it would be long before we saw again that tranquillity and content of which we have now to boast, and which even the mover of the proposition before the House has not ventured to deny [hear, hear]. In the name, then, of the general interests of the country, and in the name of the whole mass of the people, I ask the House not to consent to the present motion [great cheering].

Mr. DISRAELI replied in a speech bristling rather with satires than statistics. He boasted that none of his statements had been overturned—that it was still true that British farmers paid as much taxation as the whole revenue of the Austrian empire—that still the expression of the justice of their complaint was in the Queen's speech.

On the present occasion I meet my ancient antagonist, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who was absent from a similar discussion last year. No one regretted more

than I did the cause of that absence, and I fear also, that the small majority of 21 must have had the effect of retarding the recovery of that gentleman [a laugh]. From that time to the present the hon. gentleman had been busy in repairing the consequences of his comparative defeat, and this year he has delivered to the House the speech which, had he been well enough, he would have made last year [laughter]. He had been advised and cautioned not to rely on Poor-law statistics, but no rhetoric could keep him away from the union [cheers and laughter]. The right hon. gentleman is an able-bodied labourer receiving good wages—not excessive, but in full work and good wages, yet nothing can keep him from prowling about the workhouse [renewed laughter]. Whenever we come into collision I always find the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the workhouse, and in the workhouse I will leave him [shouts of laughter]. In the right hon. member for Ripon I also find an old antagonist, who put on his best armour to-night, but who, when he embarked on the navigation laws, did not make a very fortunate voyage.

He said that Lord Stanley would not sanction the repeal of the malt-tax; but I know a right hon. gentleman who once would sanction the repeal of the malt-tax [vociferous cheering and much laughter]. I have observed in the course of this debate that the existence of facts is ignored, and the millions dependent on agriculture go for nothing. I hope, however, hon. gentlemen will not be frightened by threats—will not be daunted by the mystical fears of a Prime Minister, or the more authoritative threats that might reach them from other quarters. This is mainly a farmers' question, but from mistaken feelings, as I think, the owners of the soil have not hitherto stood forward to vindicate the interests of their tenantry. I trust, however, this will be the commencement of a new era, and I hope that no man, whether owner or occupier, will be afraid for the future of asking from an English Parliament that justice to which every English subject is entitled [loud and prolonged cheers].

Mr. MUNTZ, who rose amidst general calls for a division, admitted that protection could not be restored, but he was prepared to vote for the hon. gentleman's motion as he had stated it, and according to the plain meaning of the words. Mr. GREENALL also expressed his intention of voting for the motion.

The House then divided—

For the motion..... 257
Against 281

Majority for Government.... 14

The announcement of the numbers was received by the Opposition with loud and long-continued cheering.

THE BUDGET.

On Monday evening, the House having resolved itself into a Committee of Ways and Means (Mr. Bernal in the chair), the CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER rose to make the annual financial statement known as "the budget." He began by referring the Committee to the balance-sheet made up to the 5th of January last, as affording a correct criterion of the state of the revenue for the financial year ending the 5th of April next. The income he had estimated last year at £52,285,000—it had turned out to be £52,810,877 for the year ending January last, and he estimated that its amount from the 5th of April last to the 5th of April next would exceed £52,656,000. The Excise duties had increased beyond his estimate of last year no less than £688,000. The actual expenditure to the 1st of January last was £50,205,879, and he believed that its amount on the 5th of April would be less than £50,134,900, showing a reduction from the expenditure of last year of £641,000. The probable surplus on the 5th of April would be £2,521,000. He then proceeded to estimate the income for the ensuing year. The Customs up to January amounted to upwards of £20,400,000, and he thought he should be justified in taking this branch of the revenue in the ensuing year at the same sum. The Excise he could not estimate at so large an amount as that of the last year, owing to the inferior quality of the barley in the last harvest; he took it, therefore, at £14,000,000. In the Stamps there would be a further diminution in the ensuing year, as the late act would not be in full operation until October, so that he should estimate the stamp duties at £6,310,000. The other taxes, including the property-tax, he took at the same amount as last year, making an estimated income altogether of £52,140,000. The charges upon the Consolidated Fund he estimated at £30,692,000. The estimates for the army were £6,693,945; for the navy, £6,637,055; for the ordnance, £2,424,171. There had been some reductions in these estimates, which would have been larger but for the critical state of affairs upon the continent of Europe, which rendered any diminution of our land or sea forces imprudent. A small vote was included for military works at Pembroke dockyard and Portsmouth harbour; and some addition had been made to the naval and army contingents by improvements effected in the comforts and allowances of the men. Notwithstanding these increments there had been an economy effected upon the war expenditure of £246,000 since the last financial statement, and of more than three millions since 1847. The miscellaneous estimates had amounted to £4,065,000. The census the ensuing year would cost £110,000, but he would take these estimates at £4,000,000. The total expenditure would, therefore, stand thus:—

Charge for the Funded Debt, including annuities	£ 27,688,000
Interest of Exchequer-bills	404,000
Civil List and other charges.....	2,600,000
Army, including Commissariat.....	6,693,945
Navy	6,637,055
Ordnance	2,424,171
Miscellaneous, including census ..	4,000,000
	£50,247,171

The estimated income being—

Customs.....	20,400,000
Excise	14,000,000
Stamps	6,310,000
Taxes	4,348,000
Property-tax.....	5,380,000
Post-office.....	830,000
Crown Lands	100,000
Miscellaneous	262,000
Old stores, &c.....	450,000

£52,140,000.

Deducting the former from the latter, there was a probable surplus of £1,892,829. The first point to consider was, how far this state of our finances bore upon the question of the renewal of the income-tax and the stamp duties in Ireland. The amount of the former was £5,400,000, that of the latter £120,000, but he would take it at £100,000. If, therefore, these taxes were not renewed, a revenue of £5,500,000 would lapse, and, deducting from that sum the surplus of £1,890,000, there would be a deficiency to the extent of £3,610,000. In the ensuing financial year half a year's income-tax would be receivable, so that in the next year the deficiency would be only £910,000, but in future years it would be £3,600,000. The House must consequently be prepared to have an annual deficit to that amount, or to reduce to an equal extent the expenditure, which, upon an amount of £16,000,000, was impracticable, or to impose new taxes, whereas there were taxes still existing which it was desirable to get rid of. He confessed that he had opposed the imposition of the tax in 1842, but had since admitted that by the abrogation of burthens pressing upon industry and trade, the impost had been justified; and therefore, after supporting the renewal in 1846, and proposing it himself in 1848, he now once more asked for a prolongation of the term, requesting the House to determine the point speedily—hinting that, if refused, his successor at the Board of Exchequer would require all possible time to make new arrangements. He did not think it advisable to go into the details of the tax until the bill was before the House. He had, however, come to the conclusion that, upon the whole, an equal and uniform rate on all descriptions of income, from whatever source, was the fairest and most practicable mode of assessment. He proposed to continue the exemption of Ireland. Sir Charles then, having replied to certain suggestions made to him respecting a revision of taxation, and having claimed for the Government the merit of having contributed to the augmentation of the revenue by economy, proceeded to consider the mode in which the anticipated surplus should be disposed of. The first claim, he observed, was the reduction of the debt. Since 1830, we had borrowed £35,000,000, of which we had paid off £8,000,000; so that in twenty years of peace we had added £27,000,000 to our debt. He did not think it necessary to make a great effort to reduce this debt, but a portion of the surplus ought to be applied to its reduction, and he proposed to retain about £1,000,000. What was to be done with the remainder? Of all the claims made upon him, he thought he was bound to attend to that for mitigating a tax which bore upon the health and morals of the lower classes, namely, the window duty. The amount of that tax was £1,856,000, which would absorb the whole of the surplus, and that would be unjust to other classes. Sanitary relief might be obtained without sacrificing the whole tax, by changing the mode of levying it, which was most objectionable. He proposed, therefore, to repeal the existing mode of assessment, and to substitute a tax upon houses, according to the principle of the value of the house, and to apply it to new houses, with considerable modifications, however, in respect to existing houses. The mode of levying, and the result to the revenue, Sir Charles thus explained:—

I have calculated, as well as I can, what will be the amount equivalent to two-thirds of the present amount of the window-tax, and I find that it will be fairly met by a tax on all houses of the value of £20 a year and upwards, of 1s. in the pound. There will then be the lowest class of houses, rented at from £10 to £20 a year, and which heretofore paid 1s. 6d. in the pound, which will pay nothing at all. I have not omitted from my consideration those houses which enjoy at present an advantage in respect to the window-tax—I mean those dwelling-houses portions of which are used as shops. I propose, therefore, in the case of houses portions of which are now used for the purpose of exposing goods for sale, that, instead of paying 1s. in the pound, they shall only pay 9d. in the pound [hear, hear]. I propose to extend the same advantage to houses kept by persons selling spirits and beer drunk on the premises, and to farmhouses occupied by agricultural tenants. Now, I believe that the result of these changes will be as follows:—I exempt altogether from taxation about 120,000 houses which now contribute to the window-tax. I include in taxation, at the rate of 12s. a house, which would be two-thirds of the lowest amount they would pay to the window-tax, about 30,000 houses. I exempt, as far as I can go, the great majority of farmhouses, because I believe very few could be regarded as of the value of £20 a year, and those farmhouses which will be taxed will only have to pay equivalent to one-half of the present window-duties. The reduction will be as follows:—The produce of the window-tax is at present £1,856,000. I calculate that the loss from the exemptions of houses under £20 a year will be £150,000. That leaves £1,706,000 payable on a new scale by houses at present paying the window-tax. One-third of that they are to be relieved from, leaving £1,137,000. I purpose to obtain the rest from 30,000 houses at 12s. a house, which will be £18,000; leaving the produce of the future house-tax £1,155,000; the loss to the revenue being £700,000. Now the committee will observe that in this scheme there is no reference whatever to windows, to the number of lights, or to the number of openings in a house; and, therefore, all the strong objections entertained on sanitary grounds to this description of tax are altogether removed [hear, hear]. Hereafter no man need stint himself in his house as to air and light [hear].

The next proposal was intended to check the adulteration of coffee by the admixture of chicory, by reducing the duty upon foreign as well as colonial coffee, levying a uniform rate of 3d. per pound on both. The loss would be £176,000. The duty upon foreign timber Sir Charles proposed to reduce by one-half of its present amount, which would be £286,000. Another item was agricultural seeds, the duty upon which he proposed to reduce to 1s. per cwt. upon all seeds, foreign and colonial. Thus the items and total of relief would be:—

On sugar	£330,000
On windows	700,000
On coffee	176,000
On timber	286,000
On seeds	30,000
Total	1,522,000

Lastly, Sir Charles proposed to transfer to the State a portion of the local charge for the maintenance of pauper lunatics, to such an amount as would leave a little more than the expense of an ordinary pauper. This charge would amount to £150,000. Under the Sugar Act there would be a reduction of the duty on sugar, in July, of about £330,000; but this would be made up; and the total loss of revenue through reductions he did not calculate at more than £1,280,000. Deducting this from the surplus, there would remain £612,000; but half of the present window-duty would be receivable next year, which would make the surplus for that year £962,000, the permanent surplus in future years being £612,000. Sir Charles concluded by moving, that the income-tax and the stamp duties in Ireland be further continued for a time to be limited.

Mr. HERRIES briefly remarked upon the importance of the subject, and the necessity of giving it a mature consideration; and Lord JOHN RUSSELL agreed to take the discussion on Friday next.

Much irregular and unimportant speaking then ensued, the representatives of every interest expressing disappointment, and Lord DUNCAN, Sir B. HALL, and Mr. WAKLEY, threatening opposition. This hostile criticism succeeded in drawing from Sir CHARLES WOOD the explanation, that no buildings not literally "dwelling-houses" would be subject to the proposed house-tax.

MISCELLANEOUS.

CRIMINAL LAW AMENDMENT.—Lord CAMPBELL has re-introduced his bill of last session on this subject; and proposes to refer it to a select committee.

CANADIAN RAILWAYS.—Lord MONTEAGLE having presented a petition from New Brunswick, praying for Government assistance towards the completion of the railway to Quebec, and Lord STANLEY having concurred in approving the plan of the railway, Earl GREY stated that the Government had the matter under consideration.

COMMITTEE OF SUPPLY.—The House of Commons voted, on Wednesday, £17,756,600 in discharge of out-standing Exchequer-bills.

APPOINTMENT OF A VICE-CHANCELLOR.—Lord J. RUSSELL has stated, in answer to Mr. J. Stuart, that he will shortly introduce a measure of Chancery reform; and that it will be necessary to appoint a Vice-Chancellor in the place of Sir J. Wigram, resigned.

WOODS AND FORESTS.—In answer to Lord DUNCAN, Lord JOHN RUSSELL has stated that his noble friend the Chief Commissioner of Woods and Forests is engaged in preparing measures with respect to three forests; viz., the New Forest, Hainault, and Wyke-wood. It was proposed to introduce certain reforms into the management of the Woods and Forests, but it was deemed to be for the public convenience that while the measures to which he had just referred were in progress his noble friend should remain at the head of the department.

RELIGIOUS ORDERS.—Mr. GROGAN moved, on Thursday night, for returns showing the number of Jesuits, and of the members of any religious order, community, or society of the Church of Rome, bound by monastic or religious vows, registered pursuant to the act 10 Geo. IV., c. 7, s. 28, in the United Kingdom, subsequent to the 23rd day of April, 1829; of all licenses granted pursuant to the said statute to all Jesuits or members of any religious order, community, or society, as aforesaid, to come into and remain within the United Kingdom, subsequently to the said date; and of all Jesuits, or members of any such religious order, community, or society, as aforesaid, who shall have been prosecuted for any misdemeanor or offence under the said statute, and subsequently to the said date. Rather a stormy scene ensued, Mr. ANSTY objecting in terms that called down a reproof from the SPEAKER. The motion was withdrawn.

UNSTAMPED PUBLICATIONS.—The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER has declined to state whether or not the prosecution of the *Household Narrative* is to be persevered with.

COUNT HAYNAU.—On the motion of Mr. HENRY DRUMMOND, copies of, or extracts from, all the correspondence which has taken place between the Government of Great Britain and that of Austria, on the subject of the assault committed on Count Haynau, a general in the service of his Imperial Majesty, have been ordered.

WORKHOUSE RIOT.—On Sunday week, the male paupers of Barham Workhouse, near Ipswich, tumultuously complaining of insufficient provisions, drove the officers out of the place, and rioted in plenty. A troop of horse soldiers was brought from Ipswich, but the rioters kept in the house. At length some armed policemen effected an entrance, captured thirty-seven prisoners, and reinstated the officers.

The Earl of Wilton has in the press a collection of hymns, chants, and responses, of his own arrangement, and which are, by permission, dedicated to the Queen.

The Board of Admiralty have given orders for her Majesty's steam-vessels "Samson" and "Bloodhound" to convey a quantity of rice and biscuit to the sufferers at St. Nicholas, Cape Verde.

Mazzini and Garibaldi contemplate as a primary object, the pillage of London, beginning with the World's Show in Hyde Park, where the work of riot and destruction may be commenced with the greatest ease in the confusion which awaits us. (!!)—*John Bull*.

PROLIFIC COW.—A cow in the possession of Mr. Richard Hill, of this town, has produced the extraordinary number of fifteen calves—thirteen heifers and two bulls. She calved two heifers on Wednesday last, making six heifers within the last three years.

BIRTHS.

February 4, the wife of the Rev. J. W. SAMPTON, Independent minister of How-street Chapel, of a daughter.

February 16, Mrs. C. B. BELL, of Leighton Buzzard, Beds, of a son.

February 17, at 12, Myddelton-square, Mrs. R. MOLLINS, of a daughter.

MARRIAGES.

February 7, at Hanover Chapel, Peckham-rye, by the Rev. J. Turnbull, of Sydenham, JAMES MARTIN, Esq., of London, to Miss EMMA SUSANNA, daughter of J. JONES, Esq., of Forest-bill.

February 11, at Trinity Chapel, East India-road, by the Rev. G. Smith, WILLIAM JOHN FITCH, of Limehouse, to Miss MARY LADD, of Poplar.

February 15, at George-street Chapel, Ryde, by the Rev. R. Ferguson, L.L.D., Mr. CHARLES COLNUTT, brewer, to Mrs. CAMPBELL, the daughter of G. Taylor, Esq.; all of the above place.

DEATHS.

February 6, at 4, John-street, Portobello, Mrs. ELIZABETH DRUMMOND, relict of the late J. Drummond, Esq., of Comrie, and mother of Thomas Drummond, the late lamented Under Secretary for Ireland.

February 7, suddenly, at the Vicarage-house, Hantslope, Bucks, the Rev. JAMES MAYNE, vicar of Hantslope-cum-Castle Thorpe, formerly of Bethnal-green.

February 9, at Lindsey House, Chelsea, in his 82nd year, Mr. WILLIAM MARTIN, inventor of the high-level bridge, of the circular dial-plate weighing-machine, and of several other useful and scientific mechanical works.

February 10, at her residence, in Horsham, aged 94, MARIA, relict of the late R. HURST, Esq., of Horsham-park.

February 11, in Cambridge-street, Hyde-park, aged 2 years and 7 months, ARTHUR, youngest child of B. DANIELL, Esq.

February 11, at Casterton Hall, Westmoreland, in his 87th year, WILLIAM WILSON CARUS WILSON, Esq., formerly M.P. for Cockermouth.

February 14, at the Royal Mint, CATHERINE SOPHIA, the beloved wife of W. WYOM, Esq., R.A.

February 15, at Brighton, aged 41, Mr. JOHN MIALI, for many years a devoted town missionary in connexion with the church under the pastoral care of the Rev. J. N. Goulty.

February 15, at Rock House, Bridgnorth, aged 58, SARAH, wife of Mr. W. SOUTHWELL.

February 17, at Rose-bank, Finchley-road, St. John's-wood, aged 5 weeks, WILLIAM MORGAN, the infant son of Mr. E. G. SALISBURY.

MONEY MARKET AND COMMERCIAL INTELLIGENCE.

CITY, TUESDAY EVENING.

The Stock Market has been in a dull condition during the past week, little business having been transacted, and prices ruling lower. The uncertainty felt in regard to the financial statement of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and a temporary depression of trade in the provinces, may be regarded as the two principal causes of the heavy state of the market. During the last two days it has received an additional impetus downward from the fear of an impending pressure on the Money Market, and that the Bank Directors are going to "put on the screw." That money is much scarcer now than it was two or three weeks ago cannot be doubted. During the past week the rate of discount in Lombard-street has risen from 2½ to 3 per cent., but this, it is generally believed, is only in consequence of a temporary demand. Whether or not, however, the rumour prove to be correct, it has had an absurd paralyzing influence on the funds. The financial statement of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, made last night, which is commented on at length in another part of our paper, causing dissatisfaction, has tended still further to reduce prices, and Consols are now quoted at 96. Bank Stock has risen since our last to 215½; whilst Exchequer Bills have declined to 55s. pm.

	Wed.	Thurs.	Friday.	Sat.	Mond.	Tues.
3 per Ct. Cons.	96½	96½	96½	96½	96½	96½
Cons. for Acct.	96½	96½	96½	96½	96½	96½
3 per Ct. Red.	97½	97½	97½	97½	97½	97½
New 3½ per Ct.	98½	98½	98½	98½	98½	98½
Annuit.	98½	98½	98½	98½	98½	98½
India Stock ..	267	266½	266½	267	267	267
Bank Stock ..	215½	215½	215½	215½	215½	215½
Exchq. Bills ..	57 pm.	54 pm.	53 pm.	56 pm.	55 pm.	53 pm.
India Bonds ..	—	62 pm.	—	60 pm.	64 pm.	63 pm.
Long Annuity ..	7½	7½	7 13-16	7 9-16	7½	7½

In Foreign Stocks, Spanish has been chiefly dealt in; but the market on the whole has been quiet. The following are the prices to-day:—Brazilian Bonds, Five per Cent., 92; Buenos Ayres Bonds, Six per Cent., 53 ½; Chilean Bonds, Three per Cent., 65; Mexican Bonds, 1846, 33½; Peruvian Deferred, 36½; Portuguese Bonds, Five per Cent., 88½; Russian Bonds, 1822, Four-and-a-half per Cent., 97½; Spanish Bonds, Five per Cent., div. from November 1840, 20; Ditto, Passive Bonds, 4½; Dutch Two-and-a-half per Cent., 58½.

The Share Market has been in a very buoyant condition during the week, and, with a few exceptions, shares have generally risen. The Railway meetings have been numerous, and include one or two of prominent interest. At the Great Western

meeting, the dividend declared was at the rate of four per cent. The surplus of the London and North Western Company, after the payment of a dividend at the rate of 5½ per cent., will be £151,291. The Leeds and Bradford dividend is £2 10s. per share, and the York and North Midland, it is stated, will be only 10s. per share. Concerning the Eastern Counties, *Herapath's Journal* remarks:—"The accounts are not yet made up, but we fear the dividend will be of the microscopic kind. Their receipts have been less, and, we hear, their expenses greater. There was a talk of a shilling a share, but, if what we hear be true, the shareholders may think themselves fortunate if they get more than a fraction of a shilling."

The traffic returns for the week are generally considered favourable. The gross amount received by the railways, since the commencement of the year, is £1,354,709 against £1,171,064, in the corresponding period of last year, showing an increase of £183,645. The following are the present prices:—Aberdeen, 13 ½; Caledonian, 12 ½; Chester and Holyhead, 20 ½; Eastern Counties, 7 ½; Great Northern, 18 ½; Great Western, 91 90½; Lancashire and Yorkshire, 59½; London and Blackwall, 7½; London, Brighton, and South Coast, 98½; London and North Western, 135 4½; Ditto, New Quarters, 23½; London and South Western, 89½; Midland, 62½; Ditto, £50, 20½; Newmarket, 5½; Norfolk, 25; North British, 9½; North Stafford, 11½; Oxford, Worcester, and Wolverhampton, 19½; South Eastern, 26½; South Wales, 26½; York, Newcastle, and Berwick, 21½; York and North Midland, 24½; Boulogne and Amiens, 9½; Namur and Liege, 8½; Northern of France, 15½; Rouen and Havre, 10½.

The Corn Market yesterday was dull at last week's rates.

PRICES OF STOCKS.

The highest prices are given.

BRITISH.	Price.	FOREIGN.	Price.
Consols	96½	Brazil	92½
Do. Account ..	96½	Ecuador	3½
3 per Cent. Reduced	98½	Dutch 4 per cent.	9½
2½ New	98½	French 3 per cent.	58
Long Annuities ..	7½	Granada	17½
Bank Stock ..	215½	Mexican 5pr. cl. new	33
India Stock ..	267	Portuguese ..	33½
Exchequer Bills—		Russian	97½
June	52 pm.	Spanish 5 per cent.	20
India Bonds ..	63 pm.	Ditto 3 per cent.	38
		Ditto Passive ..	4½

THE GAZETTE.

Friday, Feb. 14.

BANK OF ENGLAND.

An account, pursuant to the Act 7th and 8th Victoria, cap. 39, for the week ending on Saturday, the 8th day of Feb., 1851.

ISSUE DEPARTMENT.

Notes issued	£27,638,220	Government Debt ..	£11,015,100
		Other Securities ..	2,984,900
		Gold Coin & Bullion	13,608,553
		Silver Bullion ..	29,667
Total	£27,638,220	Total	£27,638,220

BANKING DEPARTMENT.

Proprietors' Capital	£14,563,000	Government Securities	£
Reserve	3,239,355	Do. (including Dead Weight Annuity) ..	14,145,696
Public Deposits (including Exchequer, Savings Banks, Commissioners of National Debt, and Dividend Accounts) ..	6,723,916	Other Securities ..	11,834,247
Other Deposits ..	9,360,278	Notes	8,463,135
Seven-day and other Bills	1,206,472	Gold and Silver Coin	639,944
Total	£35,083,022	Total	£35,083,022

Dated the 13th day of Feb., 1851.

M. MARSHALL, Chief Cashier.

The following building is certified as a place duly registered for solemnizing marriages, pursuant to an act of the 6th and 7th William IV., c. 85:—

Independent Chapel, Soham, Cambridgeshire.

BANKRUPTCIES ANNULLED.

WILSON, CHARLES, late of Liverpool, dealer in railway shares.

ALSO, WILLIAM, Plymouth, potter.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

HOMAN, BENJAMIN, Westbourne-terrace, Paddington, builder.

BANKRUPTS.

PLATT, FRANCIS PANTOLEON, Broad-street-buildings, merchant, March 3, 27: solicitor, Mr. Lloyd, Milk-street, Cheap-side.

WOTTON, PETER, sen., and WOTTON, PETER, jun., Margate, grocers, March 1, March 29: solicitors, Messrs. Wright and Bonner, London-street, Fenchurch-street.

MANNING, JOSEPH, Birmingham, draper, February 24, March 24: solicitor, Mr. Smith, Birmingham.

TETLOW, ELI, Leeds, innkeeper, March 4, 31: solicitors, Messrs. Robinson and Green, Leeds.

HUNT, HENRY, Kingston-upon-Hull, merchant, February 26, April 2: solicitors, Messrs. Wells, Smith, and Dodd, Hull.

BRIGHOUSE, THOMAS, Liverpool, contractor, February 25, March 24: solicitor, Mr. Paterson, Liverpool.

WILSON, JOHN, St. Helen's, Lancashire, chemical manufacturer, February 25, March 24: solicitor, Mr. Jevons, Liverpool.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

TOWERS, J., Glasgow, stock-broker, February 17, March 10.

SMITH, J., Glasgow, grocer, February 19, March 12.

M'KECHNIE, A., Greenock, shopman, February 20, March 13.

SMITH, A., Kelso, currier, February 21, March 16.

DIVIDENDS.

J. Johnson, jun., Uxbridge, common carrier, first and final div. of 4s., on new profits; on Saturday next, and three subsequent Saturdays, at Mr. Groom's, Abchurch-lane—J. R. Oliver, Blackheath, late commander of the ship "Albion," third and

final div. of 1d.; on Saturday next, and three subsequent Saturdays, at Mr. Groom's, Abchurch-lane—W. B. Edridge, Long-sore, coachmaker, second div. of 1d.; February 17, and two subsequent Mondays, at Mr. Cannan's, Birch-lane—J. H. Gill, Plumber's-row, City-road, grocer, first div. of 2s. 3d.; February 17, and two subsequent Mondays, at Mr. Cannan's, Birch-lane—W. Pyman, St. Oystin, Essex, corn merchant, second div. of 1d.; February 17, and two subsequent Mondays, at Mr. Cannan's, Birch-lane—J. N. Reynolds, Upper-street, Islington, grocer, first div. of 5s. 9d.; February 17, and two subsequent Mondays, at Mr. Cannan's, Birch-lane—J. Wright, Henrietta-street, Covent-garden, banker, second div. of 1s.; February 17, and two subsequent Saturdays, at Mr. Edwards's, Lambrook-court, Basinghall-street—A. and W. Prior, New-road, Ironmongers, first div. of 3s. 9d.; February 17, and three subsequent Saturdays, at Mr. Edwards's, Lambrook-court, Basinghall-street.

Tuesday, February 18.

BANKRUPT.

BINION, JAMES, and COOPER, GEORGE BINION, Drury-lane, Ironfounders, March 3, April 1: solicitors, Messrs. Ford and Lloyd, Bloomsbury-square.

HOLLAND, JAMES, and WARDEN, EDWARD, Preston, Lancashire, tallow chandlers, March 3 and 21: solicitor, Mr. Taylor, Manchester.

NECK, WILLIAM, Jun., Torre, near Torquay, Devonshire, corn dealer, March 4 and 27: solicitors, Mr. Carter, Torquay; and Mr. Stogdon, Exeter.

SCHOOL REQUISITIONS.

GILCHRIST, J., Blackhall Dye Works, near Paisley, dyer, February 20, March 13.

M'BRAIR, R. M., Glasgow commission agent, February 21, March 14.

MENZIES, R., Weem, Perthshire, merchant, February 24, March 13.

WHITE, J., Edinburgh, draper, February 21, March 21.

DIVIDENDS.

F. J. Brown, Birmingham, railway clerk, first div. of 2s., any Thursday, at Mr. Christie's, Birmingham.—S. M. Halfhide, Chesham, Hertfordshire, linen draper, first div. of 1s. 2d., any Wednesday, at Mr. Whitmore's, Basinghall-street.—R. G. Ward, Brownlow-street, Drury-lane, coach currier, first div. of 3s. 4d., any Wednesday, at Mr. Whitmore's, Basinghall-street.

MARKETS.

MARK LANE, MONDAY, Feb. 17.

The arrivals of Wheat from the near counties were very short this morning, but the condition being generally indifferent, the sale was slow, excepting for the finest samples of white. With foreign Wheat we were amply supplied, and the trade was in retail at last Monday's prices. Flour very dull, though offered on lower terms. Fine malting Barley reader sale at last week's prices, but inferior sorts neglected. Beans and Peas without alteration. We had a good supply of Oats, chiefly from Ireland, but good samples met with rather more buyers, though we cannot quote any change in prices. For Linseed Cake there was a sale at previous rates. The sale of Cloverseed is still but limited. The current prices as under.

BRITISH.		FOREIGN.	
Wheat—		Dantzic	40 to 47
Essex, Suffolk, and		Anhalt and Marks ..	35 to 41
Kent, Red (new) ..	34 to 40	Ditto White	36 to 41
Ditto White	36 to 47	Pomeranian red ..	36 to 41
Lincoln, Norfolk, and		Rostock	42 to 46
Yorkshire, Red ..	33 to 37	Danish, Holstein,	
Northumberland, and		and Friesland ..	33 to 34
Scotch, White	33 to 37	Petersburgh, Arch-	
Ditto Red	34 to 36	angel and Riga ..	33 to 37
Devon, and Somerset-		Polish Odesa	33 to 37
set, Red	— to —	Marianopolis & Ber-	
Ditto White	— to —	dianski	34 to 36
Rye	32 to 34	Taganrog	33 to 36
Barley	19 to 21	Brabant French ..	33 to 36
Scotch	26 to 28	Ditto White	35 to 41
Angus	— to —	Salonica	32 to 34
Malt, Ordinary ..	— to —	Egyptian	24 to 26
Pale	46 to 48	Rye	30 to 32
Pearl, Grey	22 to 24	Barley—	
Maple	28 to 30	Wismar & Rostock ..	18 to 21
White	23 to 24	Danish	19 to 21
Boilers	26 to 27	Saal	19 to 23
Beans, Large	21 to 23	East Friesland ..	17 to 18
Ticks	21 to 23	Egyptian	14 to 16
Harrow	23 to 25	Danube	15 to 17
Pigeon	25 to 27	Peas, White	22 to 23
Oats—		Boilers	24 to 25
Line & York, feed ..	14 to 16	Beans, Horse	30 to 34
Do. Poland & Pot. ..	17 to 19	Pigeon	24 to 26
Barwick & Scotch ..	16 to 19	Egyptian	21 to 22
Scotch feed	15 to 17	Oats—	
Irish feed and black ..	16 to 18	Groningen, Danish,	
Ditto Potato	16 to 18	Bremen, & Fries-	
Linseed, sowing	50 to 54	land, feed and blk. ..	13 to 15
Rapeseed, Essex, new		Do. thick and brew ..	15 to 17
£23 to £26 per last		Riga, Petersburg,	
Caraway seed, Essex, new		Archangel, and	
£6s. to 30s. per cwt.		Swedish	16 to 18
Rape Cake, £4 10s. to £5 per ton		Flour—	
£1 seed, £9 15s. to £10 0s.		U. S., per 196 lbs. ..	20 to 22
per 1,000		Hamburg	20 to 21
Flour, per sk. of 280 lbs.		Dantzic and Stettin ..	20 to 21
Ship	26 to 28	French, per 280 lbs. ..	27 to 29
Town	35 to 37		

WEEKLY AVERAGE FOR FEB. 8.		AGGREGATE AVERAGE OF THE SIX WEEKS.	
Wheat	38s. 11d.	Wheat	38s. 2d.
Barley	22 10	Barley	22 10
Oats	16 9	Oats	16 9
Rye	23 11	Rye	23 11
Beans	25 10	Beans	25 5
Peas	26 0	Peas	27 0

BUTCHER'S MEAT, SMITHFIELD, Monday, Feb. 18.
In to-day's market, the supply of Beasts was large for the time of year, and of unusually prime quality. Notwithstanding the favourable change in the weather, and that the attendance of buyers was on the increase, the Beef trade ruled somewhat inactive, at prices about equal to those obtained on Monday last. We may observe, however, that the extreme value of the best Scotch was 3s. 6d. per 8lbs. The numbers of Sheep being again very moderate, the demand for that description of stock ruled firm at fully Friday's improvement in value, the general top figure for the best old Downs in the wool being 4s. 6d. per 8lbs. There were about 2,000 short Sheep in the market. The few Lambs on show produced 5s. 6d. to 6s. per 8lbs. Calves, the supply of which was small, moved off slowly at late rates. There was rather more doing in Pigs, at full prices.

Prices per stone of 8lbs. (sinking the offal).		HEAD OF CATTLE AT SMITHFIELD.	
Beef	2s. 6d. to 3s. 8d.	Sheep	160 to 260
Mutton	3 6 to 4 6	Calves	127 to 280
Beasts			
Friday	701		
Monday	3,797		

NEWCASTLE AND LEADENHALL MARKETS, Monday, Feb. 17.	
Inferior Beef 2s. 0d. to 2s. 2d.	Inf. Mutton 2s. 8d. to 2s. 10d.
Middling do 2 4 to 2 6	Mid. ditto 3 0 to 3 8
Prime large 2 8 to 3 0	Prime ditto 3 10 to 4 0
Prime small 3 0 to 3 4	Veal 3 2 to 4 0
Large Pork 2 6 to 3 6	Small Pork 3 8 to 4 0

PROVISIONS, LONDON, Monday.

Irish Butter was only moderately dealt in last week by the London trade, but rather freely by northern and other country buyers, and altogether there was a fair extent of business trans-

acted. The value of the finer sorts scarcely varied; good and middling quality realized an advance of 1s. to 2s. per cwt. Friesland was dull, and 2s. per cwt. cheaper. All other foreign sold well at steady rates. Bacon.—Irish and Hambro' sided sides were slightly more in request, especially any of passable quality, at 2s. to 4s. per cwt. under the top prices. Some sales for April and May shipment were effected at from 47s. to 50s. per cwt. Bale and tierce middles were easier to sell. Hams steady. Lard fully 2s. per cwt. dearer, and a ready sale.

ENGLISH BUTTER MARKET, Feb. 17.—Our trade keeps good, as no new milk butter, either English or foreign, has yet come in sufficient quantity to interfere with prices. Dorset, fine new, 100s. to 112s. per cwt.; do., middling and stale, —s. to —s.; Fresh, 9s. to 13s. per doz. lbs.

BREAD.—The prices of wheaten bread in the metropolis are from 7d. to 7½d.; of household ditto, 5d. to 6½d. per 4lbs. loaf.

POTATOES, SOUTHWARK, WATERSIDE, Feb. 17.—Our market is well supplied with English and foreign Potatoes, and as trade is exceedingly heavy less prices have been submitted to during the past week for every description of white Potato. The following are the present quotations:—Yorkshire Regents, 70s. to 90s. per ton; Scotch, 60s. to 70s.; Scotch Cups, 50s. to 70s.; Fife, —s. to —s.; Cambridge and Lincolnshire Regents, 60s. to 75s.; Rhenish Whites, —s. to —s.; French Whites, 50s. to 60s.

SEEDS, LONDON, Monday.—The arrivals of foreign Cloverseed were to a fair extent last week, and there was more offering to-day than could be disposed of; we do not, however, deem it necessary to alter quotations. Crushing Seeds were quite as dear as last Monday, and Flax Seed for sowing was in request for Ireland. Canaryseed scarcely sold so well as on Monday last.

BRITISH SEEDS.

Linseed (per qr.)

Clover, red (duty 5s. per cwt.) per cwt.

HOPS, BOROUGH, Monday, Feb. 17.—The demand for Hops of the better description continues steady without much activity. Prices are very firmly supported.

TALLOW, MONDAY, Feb. 17.—Although the delivery last week was seasonably extensive, viz. 2,151 casks, our market to-day is in a very inactive state, and prices are from 6d. to 9d. per cwt. lower than on this day a fortnight. P.Y.C. on the spot is being quoted at 37s. 6d. per cwt. Town Tallow is 27s. per cwt. net cash. Rough fat, 3s. 1d. per 8lbs. Latest advices from St. Petersburg bring steady prices.

PARTICULARS OF TALLOW.

	1847.	1848	1849	1850	1851.
Casks.	12,137	11,373	33,895	41,730	43,491
50s. 6d.	53s. 9d.	40s. 0d.	37s. 3d.	37s. 6d.	37s. 6d.
to	to	to	to	to	to
Delivery last week ..	1,542	1,730	2,482	1,742	2,151
Do. from last June ..	67,969	80,911	76,746	71,090	73,008
Arrived last week ..	397	109	875	613	115
Do. from last June ..	69,363	84,803	103,108	87,359	90,581
Price of Town ..	52s. 0d.	54s. 6d.	43s. 0d.	39s. 6d.	39s. 6d.

WOOL, CRY, Monday, Feb. 17.—The imports of Wool into London last week were 2,675 bales; of which 360 were from Berdianski, 560 from Taganrog, 683 from Spain, 145 from Italy, and the rest from Germany and the Cape of Good Hope. The public sales of Wool commenced on Thursday at the Hall of Commerce, to a full attendance of buyers, home and foreign, and will be continued daily until about the 21st instant. The total quantity to be submitted to competition is 20,000 bales; but 4,000 of this is foreign, the remainder being Colonial, and comprising Australian, Port Phillip, Van Diemen's Land, and Cape. The foreign includes German, South American, &c.

LIVERPOOL, February 15.—Scotch.—There is only a moderate demand for Laid Highland Wool. White Highland is rather more inquired for. In Crossed and Cheviot there has been rather more doing at barely late rates.

	s. d.	s. d.
Laid Highland Wool, per 24lbs.	9 0 to 9 9	
White Highland do.	12 0 to 13 3	
Laid Crossed do., unwashed	11 0 to 12 6	
Do. do., washed	11 6 to 13 6	
Laid Cheviot do., unwashed	12 0 to 13 9	
Do. do., washed	14 0 to 19 0	
White Cheviot do. do.	24 0 to 28 0	
Import for the week	5 bales.	
Previously this year	123 bales.	

Foreign.—Since the close of our last week, there has been comparatively little doing by private—the stocks being very light, there is little to do on. A series of public sales commenced in London on the 13th inst., which are reported to be going about same rates as the December series of sales.

Imports for the week

Previously this year

METALS, LONDON, Feb. 14.

ENGLISH IRON, s.		FOREIGN STEEL, c.	
per ton.	£ s. d.	per ton.	£ s. d.
Bar, bolt, and square, London	5 7 6 to 5 10 0	Swedish keg	15 10 0
Nail rods	8 0 0 to 8 5 0	Ditto faggot	15 0 0
Hoops	7 0 0 to 7 5 0	ENGLISH COPPER, s.	
Sheets, singles ..	7 12 6 to 7 17 6	bolts	per lb. 0 0 9
Bars, at Cardiff and Newport ..	4 15 0 to 4 17 6	Tough cake, per lb. ..	0 0 8
Refined metal, Wales, £3 5 0—3 15 0		Title	83 0 0
Do. Anthracite	3 10 0	Old copper, s. per lb. ..	0 0 8½
Fig. in Wales	3 0 0 to 3 0 0	FOREIGN COPPER, f.	
Do. do. forge	2 5 2 to 2 10 0	South American, in bond	77 0 87 0 0
Do. No. 1, Clyde, net cash	2 2 6 to 2 3 0	ENGLISH LEAD, s.	
Blewitt's Patent Refined Iron for bars, rails, &c., free on board, at Newport ..	5 10 0	Fig. per ton	17 10 0
Do. do. for tin-plates, boiler plates, &c. ..	4 10 0	Sheet	18 10 0
Stirling's Patent toughened pigs, in Glasgow	2 15 0	Red lead	19 0 0
Do. in Wales	3 10 3 to 3 15 0	White ditto	24 0 0
Staffordshire bars, at the works	5 7 6	Patent shot	20 10 0
Pigs, in Staffordshire	6 0 0	FOREIGN LEAD, s.	
Rails	5 2 6	Fig. per ton	17 10 0
Chairs	4 0 0	Sheet	18 10 0
FOREIGN IRON, s.		Red lead	19 0 0
Swedish	11 15 12 0 0	White ditto	24 0 0
CCND	17 10 0	Patent shot	20 10 0
PSI	0 0 0	Spanish, in bond 16 10 0 to 17 10 0	
Gourieff	0 0 0	ENGLISH TIN, s.	
Archangel	0 0 0	Block, per cwt.	4 8 0
		Bar	4 9 6
		Refined	4 14 0
		FOREIGN TIN, s.	
		Banca	4 8 0
		Straits	4 7 0
		TIN PLATES, s.	
		IC Coke, per box ..	1 8 0
		IC Charcoal ..	1 12 6
		IX ditto	1 18 0
		SPELTER, s.	
		Plates, warehoused, per ton	16 5 0
		Do. to arrive	16 5 6
		ZINC, s.	
		English sheet, per ton ..	21 0 0
		QUICKSILVER, per lb. ..	0 3 9

Terms.—a, 6 months, or 2½ per cent. dis.; b, ditto; c, ditto; d, 6 months, or 3 per cent. dis.; e, 6 months, or 3½ per cent. dis.; f, ditto; g, ditto; h, ditto; i, ditto; k, net cash; l, six months, or 3 per cent. dis.; m, net cash; n, 3 months, or 1½ per cent. dis.; o, ditto, 1½ dis.

HAY MARKETS, SATURDAY, Feb. 15.

	At per load of 36 trusses.			
Meadow Hay ..	Smithfield.	Camberland.	Whitechapel.	
Clough Hay	48s. to 72s.	48s. to 72s.	48s. to 72s.	
Straw	60s. to 80s.	60s. to 80s.	60s. to 80s.	
	20s. to 27s.	21s. to 28s.	20s. to 27s.	

HIDES, LEADENHALL.—Market hides, 56lb. to 64lb. 3d. to 3½d. per lb.; ditto, 64lb. to 72lb. 2d. to 2½d.; ditto, 72lb. to 80lb. 2½d. to 3½d.; ditto, 80lb. to 88lb. 3½d. to 4½d.; ditto, 88lb. to 96lb. 4½d. to 5½d.; ditto, 96lb. to 104lb. 5½d. to 6½d.; ditto, 104lb. to 112lb. 6½d. to 7½d.; Calf-skins, each, 2s. 0d. to 3s. 0d.; Horse hides, 6s. 0d. to 7s.

OILS.—Lined, per cwt. —s. 0d. to 3s. 0d.; Rapeseed, English refined, 36s. 6d. to —s.; foreign, 38s. 0d.; Gallipoli, per ton, £44; Spanish, £43; Sperm £35 to £36, bagged £35; South Sea, £35 to £37; Seal, pale, £38 0s. to £— 0s.; do. coloured, £36; Cod, £39 to £—; Cocoa Nut, per ton, £38 to £40; Palm, £39 6s.

COAL MARKET, Monday, Feb. 17.

Stewart's, 16s. 6d.; Metton's, 16s. 6d.; Braddys's, 16s. 0d.; Kellor, 16s. 0d.; Richmond, 16s. 0d.; Eden, 13s. 9d.; Adelaide's, 15s. 3d.; R. Hetton, 16s.; Wylan, 13s. 9d.; Durham, 15s. 3d.; Tees, 15s. 6d.; Belmont, 16s. 0d. Factors succeeded in getting an advance of 1s. per ton upon this day's sale.

Fresh arrivals, 7; left from last day, 73.—Total, 80.

COLONIAL MARKETS—Tuesday Evening.

SUGAR.—The market has opened without spirit, and, although prices have been sustained, yet the importers were obliged to buy in largely at the public sale. 400 hhds. of West India sold—Barbadoes, 41s. to 43s. 6d.; Demerara, crystallized, 42s. 6d. to 44s. Bengal, 5,500 bags, chiefly of the strong and grainy descriptions, were offered in public sale, and fully 3,000 bags were bought in; the remainder sold at last week's currency. 4,000 bags Madras were also offered, and all bought in 30s. to 32s. 6d., except 200 bags of good qualities. The refined market has been active, and an advance of 6d. has been established on low qualities. Grocery lumps, 49s. to 51s.

COFFEE.—The rather unexpected equalization of the duties caused a sensation in the market, but it has not led to any business which can give exact quotations. Holders of good and fine foreign and Mocha ask an advance of 3s. to 5s. Good ordinary native must be quoted 45s. to 46s., the former price having been refused in public sale; damaged, first and second class, sold 42s. to 44s. 6d. The last price yesterday for good ordinary was 48s.

TEA remains steady. Public sales are declared for Thursday.

SALTPETRE.—400 bags, refraction 15½ to 17½, sold in public sale at 28s. 6d.; 100 bags Madras, refraction 12½, sold 26s.

RICE.—900 bags low Madras in public sale, 8s.; a few lots, 7s. 6d.

INDIGO.—The quarterly sale, which commenced on the 11th inst., finished to-day. The total quantity was 14,150 chests, of which only 3,600 chests were sold, so small was the demand, and a decline of 2d. to 6d. per lb. has been established on the October sale prices.

COCHINEAL.—100 bags were offered and part sold. Honduras and Teneriffe brought full prices; Mexican and Lima were bought in. Honduras silver, 3s. 6d. to 3s. 8d.; Teneriffe, 3s. 7d. to 3s. 9d.

COTTON.—We are without transactions to report.

TALLOW remains quoted at 37s. 6d.

In all other articles no material alteration, but markets generally have opened with a dull appearance.

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